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CHAP. V.

Of the Vanity and Folly of Paganism : Where the Reasonings of the Primitive Fathers against it, and the Accusations of the Gentiles against the Christians, with their Answers, are explained.

WE have, in the former chapter, seen the ruin of *Paganism* over the world, and particularly in the *Roman* empire, the clear sun-shine of the Gospel dispelling the thick darkness of heathenish idolatry, Satan as lightning falling from heaven: “ The idols
“ utterly abolished, gone into the holes of the rocks,
“ and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord,
“ and the glory of his majesty ; men casting their idols
“ of silver and gold; which they made each one for
“ himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats, to
“ go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of
“ the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord, and the
Vol. II. B “ glory

“ glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth *.” Having seen the victory gained, we might sing a triumph ; “ Confounded be all they who serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols——*Zion* heard and was glad, the daughters of *Judah* rejoiced, because of thy judgments, O Lord †.”

In the primitive persecutions, Christians overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and loved not their lives unto the death ‖. But now the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever ‡. To be sure, 'tis an invaluable mercy, that, by the knowledge of our Saviour, God has opened the eyes of the blind, has turned us from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that we may receive the remission of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified **. It is very remarkable, that whatever corruptions in doctrine, worship and government, whatever divisions, confusions and disorders have defiled the Christian Church, yet it never return'd again to the state of heathenism.

What I have formerly advanced, in confirming the truth of the Christian Religion, in discovering the insufficiency of the light of nature in order to salvation, and in displaying the state of idolatry over the heathen world, before the coming of Christ ; and of the propagating of Christianity, and ruin of Paganism in the four first centuries ; may shorten my work in this chapter. But that I may set before my reader the wickedness of Paganism, and give a little view of the arguments by which Christians defended themselves, and wounded the cause of the Gentiles, to such as are not well acquainted with the writings of the ancients ; and to contribute my mite, that libertines, in this degenerate age, may not return us to a state of infidelity, from which we are, in the mercy of God, happily deliver'd : let it be considered,

That

* Isaiah 2. 18—21.

† Psalm 97. 7, 8.

‖ Revel. 13. 11.

‡ Revel. 11. 15.

** Acts 26. 18.

That since there is but one God, the author of all things, the polytheism of the Gentiles is plainly abominable: if they say there are divers co-eternal and co-equal Gods, the opinion is inconsistent. For if there be more Gods than one, they must be either equal in power, or one must depend upon another; if equal, that equality makes, that one must depend upon another, and so each cannot be God, otherwise the independency would be only in name, for one cannot act without consent of another: if dependent, each cannot be God; for, who can limit an independent Being? Plurality of Gods can never agree with immensity: If we suppose more Gods than one, each must have his own province, which ruins immensity: nor with infinite perfection; for if one have perfections which are not in another, neither will be infinitely perfect: Every thing that is multiplied is imperfect. Unity, when not sufficient, makes many necessary; but when one is infinitely perfect and all-sufficient, no more of that kind can be conceived. If they maintain the old opinion of the *Persians*, the one God good, and the other evil, this is equally inconsistent; for these two acting one against another, the one being the author of all evil, the other of good, may tend to destruction, but can never govern the world in a beautiful order. Beside, evil is but a defect of the rectitude which ought to be in the creature, and has, of itself, no positive existence. If, by the name of Gods, they understand created spirits superior to men, then they either mean good or bad spirits; if the first, they ought to be well assured such are indeed good spirits, otherwise they commit the most dangerous error, in receiving enemies instead of friends, traitors and run-aways instead of ambassadors: good angels will never receive religious worship at their hand, 'tis the highest contempt of the supreme Being, to give that honour that's due to him to any creature. It is therefore the only safe course to betake themselves to the worship of one Almighty God, the Creator of heaven and earth; since to whom God is favourable, these good angels

must of necessity be serviceable, being the servants of the most high God.

But it was not the good, but the evil spirits the pagans worshipped, as may be demonstrated by weighty reasons. *First*, These angels did not lead their worshippers to the service of the true God, but, as far as they were able, labour'd to abolish the same* ; which good angels his servants would never do, nor equal the honour they required with that due to the Almighty ; it being their whole care to encourage men to honour and serve the only true God, who made heaven and earth. *Secondly*, The deities the Gentiles worshipped procured all the mischief they could to the worshippers of the true God, by provoking both magistrates and people to persecute and punish them : For, while it was allow'd to the poets to sing of the murders and adulteries committed by the Gods, and to *Epicureans* to take away divine Providence ; while any other religion, tho' ever so absurd, ever so different in rites, as the *Egyptian*, *Phrygian*, *Grecian*, *Thuscan*, were all sacred, and allow'd at *Rome* ; yet there the *Jews* were exposed to ridicule, call'd *Curti*, *Récutiti*, worshippers of the clouds, of the sun, &c.†, and sometimes banish'd || and exposed to many calamities : And as to the Christians, they were harass'd with the most bloody persecutions that were ever heard of, as already in the third chapter of this treatise. No other reason can be given of this conduct, than that both these sects did worship one God, whose honour was impeach'd by the multitude of such Gods as the heathens adored, who did not so much vie with one another as with him. *Thirdly*, This appears from the manner of their worship, which did no way become good and pure spirits, as by sacrificing men unto demons, by the running of naked men in their temples in the prophane feasts call'd *Lupercalia*. Indeed, the well-attested accounts we have given of their inhuman bloody sacrifices to *Moloch* and *Saturn*,
their

* Vide Augustinum de Civitate Dei, Lib. 10. Cap. 16, 19.

† Vide supra Vol. 1. Cap. 1, 2.

|| Suetonius in Tiberio, Cap. 36.

their abominable obscenities in the service of *Baalberith*, *Cybele*, *Venus*, *Succothbenoth*, and other detestable practices explain'd in the second chapter of this *Essay*, which need not be here repeated, are sufficient to make any man to abhor that religion that authorized such abominations, and to value the great mercy of our God, who has deliver'd us from it. Such iniquity is to this day practis'd among the barbarous people of *Africa* and *America*, in their most solemn acts of devotion to their heathen idols. *Fourthly*, And which is more, there both anciently were, and now are, abundance of *Pagans*, who openly worship evil spirits; as the *Persians* adored *Arimanius* the author of evil, the *Greeks* their *Cacodæmons*, the *Latins* their *Vejoves**, and now many of the *Ethiopians* and *Indians*. Than this nothing can be imagined more impious; for what is religious worship, but a testimony of infinite goodness, which we acknowledge to be in the object we adore? If this be exhibited to a false wicked spirit, 'tis evil and deceitful, implying no less crime than high treason; forasmuch as the honour due unto the king is not only withdrawn from him, but conferr'd upon the enemy, who has treacherously revolted from him. It is vain to pretend God is good, and will not punish the offence; for mercy has its bounds and limits that it may be just, and where wickedness abounds without measure, there justice does necessarily require punishment to be inflicted. Neither is it less blameable, that they pretend fear constrains them to honour wicked spirits, since God, who is absolutely good, has sovereign dominion over all his creatures, as his workmanship, so as nothing can be done by any of them, which he desires to hinder; and therefore, these evil spirits can do no further hurt to any man who has God favourable to him, than God for some good purpose or other thinks fit to permit, nor can a man obtain any real good from them. The gifts of enemies are mere snares.

Some, both of the ancient and modern heathens, tell us, they give honour and worship to the souls of men

* Cicero de Natura Deorum, Lib. 3. §. 62.

departed: But, *First*, They should have made some manifest distinction betwixt this honour, and that due to the most high God. *Secondly*, All the prayers made to these souls departed are vain and fruitless, unless these spirits could afford us some real good, which those worshippers can have no ground to expect; yea, we may be sure they cannot know our necessities, for they are not omniscient, but ignorant of things done at such distance, nor are they almighty to grant our desires. *Thirdly*, Which is a further discovery of the folly of the *Pagans*, many of those, to whom this glory was given; were notoriously wicked persons, addicted to some filthy vice or other; *Bacchus* a drunkard, *Hercules* effeminate, *Romulus* a villain who kill'd his brother, *Jupiter* with infamous tyranny expell'd his father out of heaven: So that their honour redounds to God's dishonour, and to the reproach of true piety and virtue, which he loves and recommends; yea, to honour such monsters commends the practice of wickedness and vice to men, as if it were not alluring enough of itself, till it be countenanced by the example of such patrons. *Fourthly*, Is it not the alone sure way to worship only the one glorious God, Creator of the universe, who we are sure is omniscient to know all our thoughts, wants and desires; yea, gracious and almighty to grant all that is truly good for us?

Of more antiquity among the heathen is the worship of stars and elements, as fire, water, air and earth; wherein great ignorance and folly was committed, for prayers are the greatest act of religious worship, which cannot, without folly, be directed to any but intelligent natures: But sense tells us, the elements are no such things; and as for the stars, if any say they are intelligent or rational, he will never be able to prove it, since nothing of it can be gathered from their operations and influences; yea, we may prove the contrary by their motion, which is not variable, like things endow'd with liberty of will, but constant and unalterable. Beside, these stars are for the use of man: He does therefore injury to his own dignity, to submit him-

self to such things as God has made for his service ; he ought rather to render thanks to God for them, that cannot do it for themselves.

But nothing can be more unworthy of man than the idolatry of the *Egyptians*, who became so sottish as to worship brute beasts, who have no understanding, no rational souls, can neither express conceptions by distinct words nor writing. Man catches all sorts of beasts, makes them subject to his laws ; yea, from them that are more hurtful, draws some profit, as medicine from serpents, and this in a manner utterly unknown to any of them : If man considers matters, and weighs things in a due ballance, he'll be so far from looking on other animals as gods, that he'll rather look on himself as constituted by the most high God, as a lord and ruler over them.

We find also the *Greeks* and *Romans* worshipped these things which have no subsistence, but are mere accidents. We read in *Cicero* *, that they had temples to *Contumely* and *Impudence*, an old altar to the *Fever*, and a temple to *Licence* †. To omit these uncouth deities, they adored accidents of the better sort, as *Health*, which is nothing but a right temperature of the parts of the body ; *Good Fortune*, when the event answers man's desire ; the *Affections*, as *Love*, *Fear*, *Anger*, *Hope*, and the rest, which proceed from the consideration of something good or evil, easy or difficult, and are motions of the mind united to the body, and influenced by the blood, which have no power of themselves, but are handmaids to the commands of the will. They worshipped also the *Virtues*, as *Prudence*, in chusing what is profitable to us ; *Fortitude*, in undertaking dangers ; *Justice*, in abstaining from what is another man's ; and *Temperance*, in moderation of pleasures. These are only certain inclinations and propensions in the mind unto that which is right, grown up by long exercises and practice, which, as they may be augmented, so they may by neglect be diminished, if not abolished.

* De Legibus, Lib. 2. Operum pag. m. 1297.

† Ibid. pag. 1299.

As for *Honour*, to which they erected temples, it is other men's judgment or good opinion concerning one, whom they supposed endowed with virtue, or some superior qualities, which is oft bestowed on bad men as well as good, by the natural proneness that is in men to err in judgment. These things then having no subsistence, are not to be compared in dignity and worth, with things that do subsist; and since they have no understanding of men's prayers, or of any veneration paid to them, it is most absurd to worship them as Gods. We ought only to worship God, who can give and preserve every virtue, and every excellency to us. *Cicero* himself derides this worship of accidents, when he says *,
 “ These things need not be refuted by subtile arguments;
 “ the *Mind, Faith, Hope, Virtue, Honour, Victory, Health,*
 “ *Concord*, and the rest of that kind, are in the nature
 “ of things, not of gods——And especially *Fortune,*
 “ which cannot be separate from *Inconstancy* and *Rash-*
 “ *ness*, which are unworthy of God.”

The *Pagans*, to recommend their religion, do pretend miracles, but such as may be justly excepted against; the wisest of the heathens rejected them, as supported by no testimony of any credible witness, but plainly counterfeit and fabulous. Other miracles which they said were done, happen'd in some secret place, or in the night-time, before one or two, whose eyes the craft of the cunning priest might easily delude by false appearances, of which the learned *Vandale* gives many documents †. Others that raised great admiration, and pass'd for wonders, merely because they met with men who were ignorant of natural things, and of their hidden properties; as for example, if one should draw iron with a loadstone, this might pass for a miracle among people who knew nothing of its virtue: In these arts, *Simon Magus* and *Apollonius Tyaneus* were very skilful. I don't deny, but that some things greater than these were done, which by man's power alone could not be drawn out of natural causes; yet did not depend

* De Natura Deorum, Lib. 3. §. 61.

† De Oraculis Ethnicorum.

depend on a power truly divine or omnipotent, but might be performed by spirits or demons, who by their swiftness, efficacy, subtilty and diligence, can easily carry things far distant from one place to another, and compound things very different, to the producing of such effects, as strike man with astonishment: But the spirits who did this were not good, and therefore their Religion was not good, as appears from what is already said. Good spirits would never persuade to worship any but the true God. Their wickedness also appears in this, that they compelled men to do things even against their wills, by the power of certain charms, when the wisest of Pagans agree there can be no such virtue in words, only a power of persuasion, and that no other way than by their signification. 'Tis another sign of their vile delusion, that they undertook to allure people, tho' ever so backward, to love this or the other body, and performed a thousand magick charms of that kind, forbidden even by the imperial laws; as we have heard in the former chapter, as an abominable piece of forcery. We need not wonder, that God suffered some lying miracles to be wrought by evil spirits among the *Gentiles*, since they deserved to be cheated, who so long time had forsaken the worship of the true God. This is also an argument of their weakness and impotency, that their works never produced any considerable good; for, if any seemed to be called back to life after they were dead, they did not continue alive, neither could they exercise the functions of living creatures; or if it hapened, that any thing proceeding from a divine power appeared to the heathen, yet the same was not foretold to come to pass for the confirmation of their Religion; and therefore, there might be other causes and different reasons which the divine efficacy propounded in doing these things. As for example, granting that *Vespasian* restored sight to one that was blind, it was, that he being for this counted more venerable, might more easily obtain the *Roman* empire, to which he was chosen of God, that he might be a minister of his judgment upon the *Jeus*.

The like causes may be given of other wonders, which can never recommend the heathenish superstition.

The same answer may serve to what the pagans object concerning their oracles, that they deserve to be given up to delusions, for contempt of that knowledge which reason or ancient tradition suggested to every one of them *. The words of their oracles were for most part ambiguous, and might receive an interpretation from any event whatsoever; as that to *Cræsus* †, *If Cræsus go to fight against the Persians, he shall dissolve a great monarchy*; which may be interpreted, *either he shall lose that of his own, or he shall gain that of his enemies*. Thus was the oracle to *Pyrrhus* very deceitful, *Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse*; which may signify, *either Pyrrhus shall overcome the Romans, or they shall overcome him*. If there was ever any thing foretold by these oracles that did certainly come to pass, yet it was either such as might be foreseen by natural causes then existing, as some physicians have foretold diseases approaching in such an age, or else some probable conjecture might be made by that which commonly falls out. Thus some persons skilled in civil affairs, have made notable guesses at future events. Tho' we suppose, that, among the *Gentiles*, God did sometimes use the ministry of some prophets, to foretel things, which could have no certain cause beside the will of God; yet this did not confirm the heathen superstition, but rather overthrow it: as several expressions in *Virgil's* fourth *Eclogue*, taken out of the *Sybilline* verses, where the poet unwittingly gives us a hint of the coming of *Christ*, and his benefits, as some of the ancients understood it ‡; tho' I conceive, the plain design of the poet in that pastoral is, that the consul *Pollio* having his son *Saloninus* born in the fourth year of *Augustus*, *Virgil*, in giving thanks for his birth, flatters the consul, his son, and the emperor *Augustus*, promising,

* Vide Grotium de Veritate Religionis, Lib. 4. § 9.

† Herodot. Lib. 1. Cap. 53.

‡ Constantini Magni sermo ad sanctorum cœtum, Augustin de Civ. Dei.

promising, the *Golden Age*, *Justice*, and a new race of men shall return to the earth; and all those good things prophesied of by the *Cumæan Sybil* *. We read in *Justin Martyr* †, that the Oracle told, *That the Chaldeans and Jews are the only wise people, who worship the self-existent God and King, with a pure mind.* If the heathens hearken to this Oracle, they'll abandon the worship of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the rest of their false deities; or if they do not believe it, they make their God a liar. After all, if those spirits they worshipped had intended the good of mankind above all things, they would have prescribed a safe and clear rule of life to men, and given some certain assurance of a reward to those that lived according to it: neither of which was done by them, but on the contrary, their best authors extol men for murdering themselves, as *Cato*, *Brutus* ‖, and others, or for the like abominable vices **, as we have more fully proved in some former parts of this essay. Those who desire to be further informed how fraudulent and deceitful the heathen oracles were, may read the whole fifth book of *Eusebius's Evangelick Preparations*. False as they were, they were put to silence upon our Redeemer's appearing in the world, as has been formerly illustrated ††.

Beside what has been hitherto said, *Paganism* ministers to us a mighty argument against itself; for whensoever it became destitute of human force to support it, then it came streight to ruin, as if the foundations thereof were quite overthrown. If we take a view of all the kingdoms and states among *Christians* and *Mahometans*, we shall find no memory of *Paganism* but in books. The history of the church informs us, that when the *Roman Emperors* endeavoured to uphold it, either by violence or persecution, as they did for 300 years,

* Spanheim. Hist. Christianæ, Col. 596.

† Παράεισις ad Græcos, Operum Pag. 12.

Μενοι Καλδαίοι σφην λαχόν, ηδ' αἱ Εβραίοι,

Αυτογενήτων ἀνακτα σέβασζομενοι θεόν ἀγνόν

‖ Plutarch's Lives, *Cato* and *Brutus*.

** Supra Vol. 1. Cap. 1.

†† Supra Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

years, or by learning and subtilty, as *Julian*; yet it decayed and dwindled into nothing, not by any violent opposition, nor by brightness and splendor of lineage and descent, for *Jesus* was commonly esteemed as a *Carpenter's* son; nor by flourishes of learning, which they that taught the law of *Christ* used not in their sermons; nor by gifts and bribes, for they were poor; nor by any soothing or flattering speeches: on the contrary, they taught all worldly advantages were to be despised, and all adversity undergone for the sake of the Gospel. *Paganism* must be very weak and impotent, that by such means was brought to ruin, and *Christianity* very powerful: indeed this power is not of itself, but from the efficacy of almighty God, accompanying the Gospel, to the conversion of a sinful world. This made wicked spirits come out of possessed persons at the name of *Christ*, as has already been made evident *. *Tertullian* tells *Scapula*, a pagan *Præfect* in *Africa*, *That the Christians ejected, disgraced, and expelled Demons every day, as many could bear witness* †.

The *Gentiles* have little to object against the *Christian Religion*, since all the parts thereof are of such honesty and integrity, as to convince the minds of men by their own light, so far as there has not been wanting among the heathen, who here and there have said many of those things which our Religion has in a body altogether. To give a few instances: True Religion consists not in rites and ceremonies, but in sincere spiritual service. This is owned by *Cato*, when he says, *Since God is a Spirit, he is to be worshipped by us with a pure mind* ||. *Cicero* says, *The most excellent worship of the Gods is most chaste, holy, and full of piety, that we always adore them with a pure incorrupt mind and voice* ‡. In another place he says, *The law commands us to go to God with purity and chastity, that is, of the mind, in which every thing is included; neither does this take away the*

* Supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

† Ad Scapulam, Cap. 2 Operum, Pag. 91,— || Disticho primo.

‡ De Natura Deorum, Lib. 2. §. 71. Operum, Pag. 1224.

the purity of the body, but the mind is more excellent than the body *. 'Tis a principle of our Religion, that we ought not to revenge injuries, and this is frequently taught by *Seneca, Cicero, Epictetus*, and other heathen moralists; their lessons concerning *contentment* and *submission* are so full, as they need not be here repeated. Our Religion teaches us, *not to look on a woman to lust after her*; *Seneca* teaches the same †, *He is an adulterer who has even a design or desire to commit adultery*. *Valerius Maximus* says ‡, *That the league of marriage was chastly observed among the Romans of old, and that there was no divorce betwixt husband and wife, 'till five hundred and twenty years after the city was built*. If there be some points of Christianity hard to be believed, the like is to be found among the heathens, or much worse. *Julian* the apostate emperor thought the divine nature might be joined to the human, and gives an instance in *Æsculapius*, whom he conceived descended from Heaven to teach men physick ‡. The Cross of *Christ* offends many; yet *Plato* a heathen philosopher, in the second book of his *Commonwealth* says, *For a man to appear truly great and upright, 'tis requisite his virtue be bereaved of outward ornaments; that he be by others counted a wicked wretch, scoffed at, and at last hanged*. We have many testimonies of the heathens, owning the necessary existence of God, and of divine Providence, and other points of natural Religion, in the first chapter and other parts of this *Essay*, which I shall not now repeat.

But shall offer some few Reasonings of the primitive writers in the christian church against the *Gentiles*. I can give but a small taste on such a large subject, to shew by what methods they persuaded the heathen world to renounce their idolatry and irreligion, and to be subject to the kingdom of Christ. *Athenagoras*, a christian

* De Legibus, Lib. 2. §. 24. Operum, Pag. 1296.

† Seneca. Pater. Incesta est etiam sine stupro quæ cupit stuprum.

‡ Lib. 2. Cap. 1. Pag. m. 96.

‡ Apud Cyrillum contra Julian, Lib. 6. Pag. 200, ———

christian philosopher at *Athens*, who flourished about the year of our Lord 177, in his embassy or apology for the *Christians*, to the emperors *M. Aurelius*, *Antoninus*, and *L. Aurelius Commodus*, &c. * says, “ Should you be displeased at our very name? The bare name does not deserve your hatred; ’tis wickedness deserves punishment. Your meekness and bounty towards others ought to be commended; every city enjoys their dignity conformable to the honour due to them; yea the whole world, by your prudence, does possess profound peace: but we, who are called *Christians*, are not taken care of. Yea, you allow us who commit no crimes, and, as shall appear in the progress of our discourse, who live most piously and righteously toward God, and even toward your empire, to be tossed, harassed, and put to flight, without any law or reason †.— If we be convicted of any crime, lesser or greater, let us be punished, but not for the bare name of a Christian; for no Christian can be an ill man, unless he act contrary to his profession ‖.— We are accused, *that we do not worship the same Gods as your cities, and offer them sacrifices*; but consider, O emperors ‡, that the maker and governour of this world stands in no need of blood and sweet-smelling incense; he delights in himself, nothing is wanting in him. This is the best sacrifice, that we know how great a God he is, who has stretched out the heavens above us, and settled the earth on its centre; who has gathered the waters together, who has separated light from darkness, who adorns the heavens with stars, who makes the grass to grow, who made man and all creatures. Since we have such a God, who preserves and governs all things with great wisdom, let us lift up pure hands to him. What greater hecatomb, or more magnificent sacrifice than this is needful?— He requires a sacrifice without blood,

“ that

* *Προβεβηα πρὸς Χριστιανῶν*, Edition 1686, in Folio, ad calcem *Justini Martyris*.

†. *Ibid.* Page. 2. ‖ *Ibid.* Pag. 3, 4. ‡ *Athenagoras*. Pag. 13, 14.

“ that we should offer rational and acceptable service
 “ to God. As to what they demand of us, *why we*
 “ *do not adore their statues, or present our supplications*
 “ *before them, honouring the same Gods with the rest*
 “ *of the cities*; there is no reason to accuse us of
 “ impiety for this, since these cities do not agree
 “ about these Gods. The *Albenians* own *Celeus* and
 “ *Metaneira*, as their deities; the *Lacedemonians*, *Me-*
 “ *nelaus*, to whom they offer sacrifices, and keep
 “ festival days; the *Ilienses* will not hear of his name,
 “ but count him as their enemy, and celebrate their
 “ own *Hector*. The *Cbians* adore *Aristeus*, taking him
 “ for *Jupiter* and *Apollo*. The *Thasians* honour *Thea-*
 “ *genes*, who committed murders at the *Olympick*
 “ *Games*; and the *Samians*, *Lyfander*, after all the
 “ murders and mischiefs he had done, &c. Time
 “ would fail me before I repeat them all. Since then
 “ they do not agree about their deities themselves,
 “ why do they reproach us for not consenting to
 “ them? And how ridiculous are the ceremonies of
 “ the *Egyptians*? They mourn for the death of their
 “ Gods, and worship them as alive; yea, give divine
 “ honours to beasts: if these die, they shave their
 “ heads, bury them within their temples, and all the
 “ city goes into mourning. Shall we be counted
 “ wicked, because we do not adore these? Then other
 “ cities of the *Gentiles* shall be wicked too; for they
 “ do not all adore the same deities. But tho’ they
 “ should agree, must we go to their statues, and
 “ pray before them, when we know they are but
 “ trash, and understand the distance that is betwixt
 “ God and vile matter?—Shall we worship images that
 “ were but of yesterday made by men? If they be
 “ Gods, why were they not from the beginning? Why
 “ are they of so late a date, as we know the men that
 “ made them? Why did they stand in need of work-
 “ men and art to give them a being? To be sure,
 “ they are nothing but trash, stones, and matter,
 “ dressed up by curious art *.” After he has dis-
 coursed

* Athenagoras ubi supra, Pag. 17.

coursed of the vile fabulous stories of the generations of *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Titan*, *Rhea*, *Bacchus*, and the rest, he says, “ Shall we approach these, or stretch out
 “ humble hands to supplicate before them, whose ge-
 “ neration is no better than the beasts of the field,
 “ and their countenance filthy and deformed *?—
 “ Whatever names of deities these take, they are but
 “ devils; and this may be known by their actions, for
 “ some of them teach men to cut off their privities, as
 “ the priests of *Rhea*; to cut and slash their own
 “ bodies, as the servants of *Diana*; yea, *Diana Taurica*
 “ kills her own guests: To speak nothing of men
 “ who, by knives and knotted whips, torment their
 “ own bodies, nor of the different sorts of *Demons* †.
 “ But our God is perfectly good, and always does
 “ good; we contrive nothing in Religion of our selves,
 “ but explain those truths that are delivered by the
 “ holy prophets ‡.”

Origen, the famous presbyter at *Alexandria*, who flourished about the year of our Lord 230, in his excellent book against *Celsus*, his adversary, having compared the Christian Religion with that of the *Egyptians*, where one might see stately temples and groves, with fine porches and entries of great bulk and beauty, the wonders of the world, and within these, their religious mystical ceremonies were performed †: he answers, “ Is not the God and Lord of the whole world,
 “ his divine prophecies, and the contempt of idolatry,
 “ things more magnificent? Is Christ crucified to be
 “ compared to the worship of brute beasts? Of an
 “ ape, a cat, a goat, a dog, or a crocodile? Our
 “ Redeemer suffered for the benefit and salvation of
 “ the world.” When *Celsus* objects the great eloquence of the heathen Philosophers, *Origen* ** tells him,
 “ The first preachers who planted Christian Churches,
 “ their sermons had a mighty force of persuasion above
 “ those who taught the philosophy of *Plato*, or of any
 “ other

* Ibid. Pag. 20. † Ibid. Pag. 29.

‡ Contra Celsum, Lib. 3. Pag. 120.

‡ Ibid. Pag. 27.

** Ibid. Pag. 152.

“ other man endowed only with the power of human nature : but the persuasion of the Apostles of *Jesus Christ* was given of God, persuading men to believe by the efficacy and power of the spirit ; and therefore quickly and swiftly did their word run thro’ the world, or rather the word of God, by their ministry, converting many sinners from the evil of their ways, whom no man could have changed by whatever punishments, but the word converted them according to the will of God.” Tho’ *Celsus* says, *’tis difficult to change nature* ; “ But we, says *Origen*, know, that all men are created with reasonable Souls, not made evil by their Creator, but become wicked by education and evil company ; and therefore are persuaded they may be easily converted by the word of God : if they believe, they must commit themselves to him, and do every thing so as to please him.” I do not presume to give an abstract of this excellent book, the whole of it deserves to be seriously perused ; there we may find the authority of the books of *Moses*, of the *Old Testament*, and of the *History of the Gospel*, vindicated from most of those objections that *Deists* and *Libertines* to this day raise against them.

Cyprian, Bishop of *Carthage*, who flourished about the year of our Lord 248, and suffered martyrdom in the year 258, in his little treatise, *De Idolorum Vanitate*, which seems to be an abstract of *Minutius Felix*, and is oft printed with that author, says *, “ That those, whom the common people worship, are not Gods, we may know, since they were Kings, who, for their sacred memory, were honoured by their people, even after their death. Therefore they built them temples, and erected their images, to which they offered sacrifices, and celebrated festival Days to their honour. These things, which were for the comfort of the present age, was counted Religion to their posterity. Let us see if this does not hold
“ true

* Ab initio & per totum passim.

“ true in each of them. *Melicertes* and *Leucothea* fall
 “ headlong into the sea, and are afterwards made Gods
 “ of that element. *Castor* and *Pollux* die by turns,
 “ that they may live again. *Hercules*, that he may
 “ cease to be man, is burned in the flames of *Æta*.
 “ *Apollo* feeds the cattel of *Admetus*. *Neptune* builds
 “ walls to *Laomedon*, and the unlucky man wants his
 “ wages. The cave and burial-place of *Jupiter* is to
 “ be seen at *Crete* ; he put *Saturn* to flight : hence
 “ *Latium* is called, from his lurking in it. He first
 “ taught the people of *Italy* to know letters, and to
 “ coin money ; hence the treasury is called *Ærarium*
 “ *Saturni*. He was a husbandman, and is therefore
 “ painted as an old man carrying a hook. *Janus*
 “ entertained him when he was put to flight, from
 “ him *Janiculum* is named, and the month *January*
 “ looking to the year passing away and coming in.
 “ The *Moors* do plainly worship *Kings*, nor do they
 “ disguise it at all ; and therefore they have a different
 “ Religion in every nation and province. *Alexander*
 “ the Great, in a remarkable book wrote to his
 “ mother, says, *That from fear, a priest told him the*
 “ *secret of men being turned into Gods, that the memory*
 “ *of their Kings and Ancestors might be preserved ; hence*
 “ *came the custom of worshipping and offering sacrifice to*
 “ *them*. If Gods were born then, why are none born
 “ now, unless *Jupiter* be grown old, or *Juno* left bear-
 “ ing? Why should any body think, that these Gods
 “ can do good to the *Romans*, who could not teach their
 “ own people to resist the *Roman Arms*? We know,
 “ the native Gods of the ancient *Romans* ; *Romulus*
 “ was made one, (tho’ *Proculus* swore against it) and
 “ with him *Picus*, *Tiberinus*, *Pilumnus*, and *Consus* the
 “ God of *Knavery*, whom *Romulus* would needs have
 “ worshipped, as conscious to his tricks, after he had
 “ committed a rape upon the *Sabin Women*. *Tatius*
 “ found out and worshipped the Goddess of *Privies*.
 “ *Hostilius* added *Fear* and *Paleness*. I know not who
 “ deified the *Fever*, and *Acca* and *Flora* two whores.”—

After he had named several other *Roman* deities *, he adds, “ And the monsters, not the gods of *Egypt*,—
 “ of these this one account may be given, that they
 “ deceive, cheat and ruin a foolish blinded people.
 “ These deceitful wandering spirits being drowned in
 “ earthly vice, and deprived of heavenly vigour, instil
 “ their wickedness into men ; these the poets call *De-*
 “ *mons.* *Socrates* said, *He was governed and instructed*
 “ *by one of them.* Hence the *Magicians* have power to
 “ perform such wicked and odd things ; yet *Hostanes*,
 “ a chief man among them, denies that men can see
 “ the form of the true God, and says, *good Angels do*
 “ *assist at his throne.* To which *Plato* agrees, who
 “ worshipping one God, called all the rest *Angels* or
 “ *Demons.* Also *Hermes Trismegistus* owns one God,
 “ and calls him *Incomprehensible and Inestimable.* These
 “ evil spirits then lurk under the statues and conse-
 “ crated images, they inspire their priests, they govern
 “ the inspection of the entrails, the flight of birds, and
 “ the divination by lots ; they utter oracles, mixing
 “ false things with true ; for they deceive, and are de-
 “ ceived. They disorder man’s life, disturb his sleep,
 “ terrify the mind, creeping in upon you insensibly,
 “ distort the body, break the health, bring on diseases :
 “ and all this they do to force you to worship them,
 “ that being pleased with the smoke of your altars,
 “ and the fat of your sacrifices, by mitigating the
 “ diseases themselves brought on, they may seem to
 “ perform some great cure. This is the remedy when
 “ they cease to wrong you ; and they have no other
 “ design but to hinder men from serving the true
 “ God, and to allure them to the abominable wor-
 “ ship of *Demons* ; they, being under punishment,
 “ seek to make you partakers of their crimes, that
 “ they may at last have you companions in their tor-
 “ ments. But these impure spirits being adjured by
 “ the true God by us *Christians*, do straight give way,
 “ and are forced to leave the bodies they have posses-
 “ sed. You may see them, by the invisible operation

* Vide supra, Vol. I, Cap. 2.

“ of the divine majesty accompanying our word, to be
 “ tormented, burned as with fire ; their pains increased,
 “ they weep, groan, plead, and even confess before
 “ those who worship them, whence they come, and
 “ whither they go ; they depart, and immediately,
 “ or by degrees vanish, by the faith of the patient,
 “ and the grace of him who performs the cure. Hence
 “ the vulgar mob hates the name of a *Christian* ;
 “ they begin to hate us before they know us, for if
 “ once they had known us, they would either imitate
 “ our example, or durst not condemn us. There is
 “ then but one God, the governor of the world, his
 “ sublime majesty admits of no consort, since he
 “ alone possesses all power.— He can neither be
 “ seen nor comprehended, he is brighter than to be
 “ seen, purer than to be touched, greater than that
 “ we can know him ; we only rightly esteem him
 “ when we count him inestimable. What temple can
 “ we build to God, who fills the whole world ? If a
 “ man cannot be confined to one house, shall we limit
 “ divine majesty to it ? Let us dedicate our Souls to
 “ him, and erect a temple for him in our own breasts.
 “ Neither ask for the name of God : There is use
 “ for names when a multitude is to be distinguished
 “ by proper appellations ; but God is one, and fills
 “ all.— If you ask what *Christ* is, and how salvation
 “ comes to us by him ? Thus stands the matter ; the
 “ grace of God was first discovered to the *Jews*,
 “ they were just, their fathers did maintain the true
 “ Religion, and therefore their nation did flourish, and
 “ they had a numerous offspring ; but when they be-
 “ came slothful, proud, refusing instruction, puffed
 “ up with a confidence in the piety of their fathers,
 “ they slighted the divine precepts, and lost an interest
 “ in his favour. How profane was their life, how
 “ highly they violate the bonds of Religion, them-
 “ selves declare : tho’ they confess not with their tongue,
 “ the event proves it, being scattered as vagabonds
 “ thro’ the earth, their own land having spewed them
 “ out. God also foretold this, *That in the end of the*
 “ world

“ world he would seek out of every nation and people,
 “ those who would more faithfully worship him, and reap
 “ the benefits of his divine goodness, which the Jews had
 “ despised. To preach this grace, our Lord and
 “ Master, the Word and Son of God is sent, who was
 “ declared by all the prophets of old as the enlightner
 “ and teacher of mankind; he is the wisdom and
 “ glory of God, he becomes man, being conceived by
 “ the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the
 “ virgin, he is the mediator betwixt God and man,
 “ to bring us to the father. — This Lord Jesus, as
 “ was prophesied, did, by his word and power, cast
 “ out devils, healed the sick, cured the lepers, made
 “ the blind to see, the lame to walk, and the dead to
 “ live; the winds and the sea did obey him, the
 “ devils trembled before him. The *Jews*, who counted
 “ him a mere man, they called him a magician;
 “ their teachers and rabbies, whom he reproved by his
 “ wisdom and powerful doctrine, moved with wrath,
 “ delivered him to *Pontius Pilate*, *Roman* deputy then
 “ in *Syria*, earnestly craving, that he might be cru-
 “ cified: he himself foretold they would do so, ac-
 “ cording to the testimony of the prophets who had
 “ gone before him, *That he must suffer and taste of*
 “ *death, that he might live and return to heaven, to*
 “ *display the glory of divine majesty.* All this he ex-
 “ actly fulfilled; for, being crucified, he willingly
 “ yielded up his spirit to God, and rose of his own
 “ accord on the third day, appearing to his disciples,
 “ so as they might know him. He remained with
 “ them forty days, teaching them those precepts of
 “ life which they were to explain to others. Then
 “ did he ascend to heaven in a cloud, that man,
 “ whom he loved, whose nature he assumed, whom
 “ he rescued from death, he might carry triumphantly
 “ to God. Last of all, he is to come from heaven
 “ to punish the devil, and to judge mankind with the
 “ zeal of an avenger, and the authority of a judge.
 “ His disciples, according to his word, being scat-
 “ tered thro’ the world, did preach the way of sal-
 “ vation, to bring men from darkness to light, from

“ blindness and ignorance to the knowledge of the
 “ truth. That their testimony concerning *Christ*
 “ might be more solid and convincing, they are
 “ vexed by crosses, torments, and different sorts of
 “ punishments. Their pain is a testimony to the truth,
 “ that *Christ* who gave life unto men, may be com-
 “ mended, not only by doctrine, but also by the testi-
 “ mony of sufferings. Let us follow and accompany
 “ him, taking him for our guide in our journey, as
 “ the fountain of our life, and the author of our sal-
 “ vation, seeking the enjoyment of heaven, and our
 “ heavenly father, as he has promised to them that
 “ believe: he is *Christ*, let us be *Christians*, imitating
 “ his example.” By these, and the like arguments,
Cyprian did persuade many to abandon *Paganism*, and
 to embrace *Christianity*.

Tertullian, a presbyter in *Carthage*, who flourished
 about the year of our Lord 192 ; in his excellent apo-
 logy, says to the *Gentiles* *, “ We have left off to
 “ worship your Gods, since we know them not to
 “ be such: you may require us to prove, *That they*
 “ *are not Gods, and therefore not to be worshipped,*—
 “ *for we say they are Gods to you.* We appeal from
 “ yourselves to your conscience. Let that judge or
 “ condemn you: Dare you deny that these Gods were
 “ once men? If you say they were not, you’ll be
 “ convicted of falshood by the best monuments of
 “ your own antiquities, where there are evidences to
 “ this day on record, of the cities where they were
 “ born, of the countries where they conversed, and of
 “ the places where they were buried. It were need-
 “ less to run thro’ all your new, old, barbarian, *Scy-*
 “ *thian, Grecian, Roman, stranger, captive, adoptive,*
 “ *proper, common, male, female, town, country,*
 “ *seafaring and warlike deities.* To be short, I’ll put
 “ you in mind, for you seem to have forgotten it, that
 “ none of your Gods were before *Saturn*, all the
 “ ranks of them proceed from him; if we know the
 “ origin,

* Apology, Cap. 10, 11. Pag. 28, 29.

“ origin, we shall discover the offspring. Now, as
 “ far as learning leads us, neither *Diodorus the Grecian*,
 “ nor *Thallus*, nor *Cassius*, nor *Severus*, nor *Cornelius*
 “ *Nepos*, nor any of your ancient writers, pretend he
 “ was any thing more than a man. If you demand
 “ convincing arguments, we have abundance of these
 “ from *Italy* itself, where he was received by *Janus*;
 “ the mountain where he dwelt is called *Saturnius*,
 “ the city which he built *Saturnia*, and the whole
 “ country called by his name.— *Jupiter* was his son,
 “ a man come of a man, and so the whole race of
 “ them was mortal. As you dare not deny they were
 “ men, so you assert they were made Gods after their
 “ death. Let us consider the reason of this. *First* of
 “ all, you must acknowledge there is a great God,
 “ the origin of the divinity: Who made men to be
 “ Gods? for they could not assume that divinity them-
 “ selves which they had not, nor could any other, who
 “ did not properly possess it, give the same to them;
 “ and if none could make them deities, in vain do
 “ they pretend to it. To be sure, if they could make
 “ themselves Gods, they should never have been men,
 “ when they had power to reap the advantage of a
 “ more happy condition. If they be made Gods,
 “ what is the reason why these men are made Gods?
 “ Certainly the glorious God stood in no need of dead
 “ men to assist him in any affairs.— The sun,
 “ moon and stars gave their light, the rain did fall
 “ from heaven from the beginning of the world, be-
 “ fore there were any of the race of *Saturn*. *Jupiter*
 “ himself was afraid of thunder, which you foolishly
 “ say is now in his hands. There was corn, and fruits,
 “ before *Bacchus*, *Ceres* or *Minerva* were so much
 “ as mentioned.— If *Bacchus* be made a deity for
 “ finding the use of the vine, you do wrong to *Lucullus*
 “ who first brought cherries out of *Pontus* into *Italy*,
 “ and discovered the use of them, that you have not
 “ consecrated him among the rest.— If it be further
 “ alledged, the sovereign who excels in justice, did
 “ not rashly deify these men, but according to their

“ merits ; where are the merits of these men to exalt
 “ them to heaven ? Do they not rather deserve to be
 “ thrust down to hell, to which the wicked are sent,
 “ who commit incest with parents and sisters, who are
 “ adulterers, ravishers of virgins, who pollute boys,
 “ who rage, murder, steal, and commit such crimes
 “ as your deities ; for you can prove none of them
 “ free of abominable vices ?—— Why do ye adore
 “ them as Gods, when ye condemn their brethren in
 “ iniquity to punishment ? Your justice approaches
 “ heaven ; you deify the worst of men, that they
 “ may put honour on their equals. But passing this
 “ indignity, allow them once to have been good men ;
 “ how many better men do you leave in the infernal
 “ regions ? Is there any of your deities equal in wis-
 “ dom to *Socrates*, in justice to *Aristides*, in war to
 “ *Themistocles*, in greatness to *Alexander*, in prosperity
 “ to *Polycrates*, in eloquence to *Demosthenes* ? who of
 “ them is so grave and wise as *Cato*, so excellent a
 “ soldier as *Scipio*, so mighty as *Pompey* ; so rich as
 “ *Crassus*, or so eloquent as *Cicero* ? Would not a
 “ just sovereign rather deify these, knowing who are
 “ the best of men, and not shut heaven in a haste, and
 “ now may be ashamed to find better people, than
 “ those he has advanced to such a dignity, groaning
 “ among the ghosts below ?”

I should be too tedious, if I were to transcribe all that
 these authors have writ upon this subject ; and much
 more, if I should insist upon what *Clemens Alexandri-
 nus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Minutius Felix*, *Arnobius*, *Lac-
 tantius*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Augustin* in his twenty
 books of the city of God, *Cyril* in his answer to *Julian*,
 or others, have wrote against the *Gentiles*. I proceed
 therefore now to consider what the *Heathens* charged
 against the *Christians*, especially in the three first
 centuries, and what they answered.

First, The heathens cried out against Christianity,
 as a grand piece of atheism and impiety ; as an affront
 to their Religion, undermining the very being and existence
 of

of their Gods. Thus *Cæcilius* the heathen in *Minutius Felix**, accuses the Christians, as a desperate and unlawful faction, who, by way of contempt, did snuff and spit at the mention of their Gods, deride their worship, scoff at their priests, despise their temples, as no better than charnel houses, and heaps of dead bones. For these and the like reasons, Christians were every where counted a pack of Atheists, and their religion frequently called Atheism by the emperor *Julian*. Thus *Lucian* brings in *Alexander* the impostor, as an oracle-monger, and ranks the Christians with Atheists and Epicureans, as those who were especially to be banished from the mysterious rites †.

To this charge the *Christians* answered; First, That the *Gentiles* were incompetent judges, being wholly ignorant of the true state of the *Christian Doctrine*; and therefore unfit to pronounce sentence against it: Thus, when *Crescens* the philosopher had traduced the Christians as atheistical and irreligious, *Justin Martyr* answers ‖, “ That he talks of those things he understands
 “ not, when he calls Christians atheists and ungodly
 “ men, to comply with the humour of those he had
 “ seduced; in reproaching the doctrine of Christ, when
 “ he was ignorant of it, he shew’d a most wicked
 “ temper; or if he did understand its greatness and
 “ excellency, then he shew’d himself much more base
 “ and disingenuous, in charging upon it what he knew
 “ to be false, concealing his inward sentiments, for
 “ fear he should be suspected to be a Christian.” Secondly, They did in some sort confess the charge, that according to the vulgar notions the Heathens had of deities, they were Atheists, that is, strangers and enemies to them. Thus the same *Justin Martyr* tells the emperor ‡, “ That the Gods of the *Gentiles* were at best but De-
 “ mons, impure and unclean spirits, who had long im-
 “ posed upon mankind, and by their villany, so-
 “ phistry, and acts of terror, had so affrighted the
 “ common

* *Minutius Felix*, pag. m. 19.

† *Pseudomantis*, *Operum Luciani Tom. 2. pag. 888.*

‖ *Apologia prima*, *Operum* pag. m. 46, 47.

‡ *Apologia secunda*, *Operum* pag. 55, 56.

“ common people, who knew not really what they
 “ were, that they called them Gods, and gave to every
 “ one of them that name the Demon was willing to
 “ take to himself.” That they really were nothing
 but Devils, the Christians manifested at every turn,
 forcing them to confess it, while by prayer, and invo-
 cating the name of the true God, they drove them out
 of possess’d persons* ; and therefore they trembled to
 encounter with a Christian, as *Octavius* triumphantly
 tells *Cæcilius* †. The Christians also declared, that the
 Pagans entertain’d the most absurd and fabulous no-
 tions of their Gods, and usually ascribed such things to
 them, as would be counted an horrible shame and
 dishonour to any wise or good man ; the worship and
 mysterious rites of many of them, being so brutish and
 filthy, that the honefter *Romans* were asham’d of it ;
 and therefore overturn’d their altars, and banish’d
 them out of the roll of their Deities, tho’ their degene-
 rate posterity took them in again, as *Tertullian* ob-
 serves ‡. Indeed their Gods were so impure and beastly,
 their worship was so obscene and detestable, that *Julius*
Firmicus advises them ‡ to turn their temples into the-
 atres, where the secrets of their religion may be deli-
 vered on the stage, and to make their players priests,
 that the mob may sing the amours, sports, and
 pastimes, the wantonnesses and impieties of their Gods ;
 no other place being so fit for such a religion. Besides,
 the *Pagans* ascribed to their Gods human bodies, with
 blemishes and imperfections ; yea, that they were liable
 to death itself, and were guilty of the most prodigious
 villanies ; revenge, murder, incest and luxury, rapes
 and adulteries, drunkenness and intemperance, theft
 and unnatural rebellion against their parents, and the
 like, of which the writings of their poets and best au-
 thors are full ; which served only to corrupt and de-
 bauch the minds and manners of youth, as *Octavius*
 tells

* Cyprian de Idolorum Vanitate, ubi supra,

† Minucius Felix, pag. 63.

‡ Apologia, cap. 6, 7.

‡ De Errore profan. Religionum.

tells his adversary*, where he pursues the argument with great eloquence and reason ; and at the same time derides their image-worship, their foolish falling down before images and statues, which were despised as insensible dead things by the meanest of creatures. “ The mice, says he †, the swallows, bats, &c. gnaw, “ insult, sit upon your Gods, and, unless you drive “ them away, build nests in their mouths, the spiders “ weave their webs over their faces ; you first make “ them, then clean, wipe and protect them, that you “ may fear and worship them ; but you should know “ it is a God before you worship it.— If we should “ view all your rites, there are many things justly deserve to be laugh’d at, others that call for pity and “ compassion.” Now, ’tis no wonder that Christians were not in the least ashamed to be call’d Atheists, that is, who deny and oppose such a religion as this. But *Thirdly*, In the strict and proper notion of atheism, they truly and confidently denied the charge, and appeal’d to their severest adversaries, if those, who own’d such principles as they, could be Atheists : none ever pleaded better, and more irrefragable arguments for the existence of one supreme, infinite Being, who made and governs all things by infinite wisdom ; none more clear to produce a confession of their faith on this great article of religion than they. *Justin Martyr* tells the emperor *Antoninus* ‖, “ Can we be Atheists, wicked, “ and without God, who worship the great God the “ Creator of the whole world, not with bloody sacrifices, incense and oblations, which we know he “ stands in no need of ; but we exalt him according to “ our power with prayer and praises, in all the addresses we make to him, believing this to be the only “ honour that’s worthy of him ? We do not consume “ creatures given for our use, and the comfort of those “ who want them, by burning them in sacrifices ; but “ approve ourselves thankful to our God, by celebrating his praises who created and preserves us, and gives

* *Minutii Felicis Octavius*, pag. m. 45—49. † *Ibid.* pag. 54.

‖ *Apologia secunda, Operum* pag. 60. Edit. *Cologn.* 1686.

28 *The Answers of Primitive Christians*

“ gives us eternal life. We offer our prayers to him
 “ for all things we want, according to that faith and
 “ trust we repose in him, as we are taught by our Lord
 “ and Master *Jesus Christ*, who was crucified under
 “ *Pontius Pilate*, in the reign of the emperor *Tiberius*
 “ *Cæsar*, who is the son of the true God, whom, with
 “ the Holy Spirit, we adore and worship. We are ac-
 “ cused, says *Arnobius* *, that our religion is impious,
 “ unholy, and full of sacrilege, profaning the ancient
 “ ceremonies with rites of new superstition : This is
 “ the reason why the Gods are offended with us, and
 “ why you *Gentiles* do so rage against us, confiscating
 “ our estates, banishing our persons, beating, tearing,
 “ yea racking us to death ; yea, throwing us to be de-
 “ vour’d by the teeth of wild beasts.—’Tis not now
 “ proper to explain who they are that so condemn us,
 “ how little they know or can do, how they are afraid
 “ at the mention of the name of *Christ*, yet they hate us
 “ his disciples. But we *Christians* are the worshippers
 “ of the supreme king and governour of the world, as
 “ we are taught by Christ our master ; consider, and
 “ you’ll find nothing else in our religion. This is the
 “ sum of the whole affair, this is the end and design of
 “ our divine offices, before him we are wont to prostrate
 “ and bow ourselves, him we worship with common
 “ and conjoin’d prayers ; from him we ask those things
 “ that are just and honest, and such as are not unwor-
 “ thy of him to hear and grant——We adore the
 “ mighty God, the Sovereign of the whole creation,
 “ the Governour of the highest powers ; we pray to
 “ him daily with the most obsequious reverence, and in
 “ an afflicted state lay hold on him with all our powers,
 “ love him and look to him——Tell me, you men of
 “ reason, why is this a dismal and detestable religion ?”
 Upon the whole we may see, that the enemies of
Christianity had little reason to brand it with *Albeism*
 and *Irreligion*.

This charge proving ineffectual, the *Gentiles* accused
 our religion of *Novelty* : This was alledg’d against the
 Apostle

* *Adversus Gentes*, Lib. 1. pag. m. 21. & seq.

Apostle *Paul*, when he preached at *Athens* *, *That he was a setter forth of strange Gods*, because he preached *Jesus* and the *Resurrection*, and was followed with a loud cry in succeeding times, “ You are wont to object to us, says *Arnobius* †, that our religion is a novelty, started up not many days ago, and that we ought not to desert the antient religion of our fathers, to espouse barbarous and foreign rites. And *Eusebius* tells us ‖, “ The heathens were wont to reason thus : “ What strange religion is this ! what new way of life ! “ wherein we can neither discern the rites used in *Greece* among us, nor among any sect of the *Barbarians* ; who then can deny them to be impious ? Who have forsaken the customs of their fathers, observ’d before in all cities and countries, revolting from that way of worship which had been universally receiv’d in all ages, both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, entertain’d in cities and villages, countenanc’d by the common consent of kings, law-givers, philosophers, and the greatest persons whatsoever.” Thus the heathen in *Minucius Felix* says ‡, “ What more excellent and venerable, than to entertain the discipline of our fore-fathers, to solemnize that religion that has been deliver’d to us, to worship those Gods, the knowledge of whom has been infused into us by our parents ; not boldly to determine concerning the Deities, but to believe those who have been before us, who in the rude ages of the infancy of the world, had either their Gods or Kings favourable to them ?” *Lactantius* speaking of the heathens, says **, “ ’Tis their religion most obstinately to maintain the rites deliver’d down to them from their ancestors ; not so much considering what they are, as concluding them to be right and good, because the ancients transmitted the same to them : Nay, so great is the power and authority of antiquity, that ’tis conceiv’d a kind of impiety to question or enquire into it.”

After

* Acts 17. 18.

† Lib. 2. pag. 106.

‖ Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. 5.

‡ Pag. mihi 14.

** De falsa Religione, Lib. 2. pag. m. 135.

After Christianity had been settled some hundred years in the world, and became the prevailing religion, that had in a manner banish'd all others out of doors, this charge was still continu'd. Thus *Julian* the emperor, writing to the people of *Alexandria* concerning the *Galileans*, (so he us'd in scorn to name the *Christians**,) “ swears by the Gods, he is ashamed that any among
 “ them should own himself a *Galilean*. The fathers
 “ of the true *Hebrews* of old served the *Egyptians*; but
 “ you who have overcome *Egypt*, for your founder
 “ *Alexander* subdued it, allow the old opinions of your
 “ country to be contemned.” Thus *Lucian*, long before *Julian*, speaking of our Saviour, calls him, *That great man that was crucified in Palestine, who introduced that new religion into the world* †.

In answer to this charge, the *Christians* replied, *First*, That it was not true; for many principles of Christianity are the same with the law of nature, therefore from the beginning of all things; and the Christian Religion is the same with that of the ancient *Jews*, which claims precedency of all others in the world. See what we have already advanced concerning the antiquity of *Moses* ‥. *The antient Patriarchs*, says *Eusebius* ‡, *were the Christians of the old world, who had the same faith, religion, and worship common with us*; nay, the same name too, as he endeavours to prove from that text, *Psalms* cv. 15. *Touch not mine anointed*, τῶν Χριστῶν μου, *my Christs or Christians*. And how far these patriarchs were superior in age to any thing upon record concerning the most antient *Gentiles*, even by their oldest writers, *Orpheus*, *Homer* and *Hesiod*, nay to the very Gods of the heathens, is sufficiently made evident by the first christian writers **: That *Moses*, by the easiest computation, was six hundred years before *Homer*, yea long before *Cadmus*, the first inventor of letters among the *Greeks*. Therefore *Origin* tells
Celsus,

* Epist. 51. *Juliani Operum* pag. m. 423.

† De Morte Peregrini, *Operum* Tom. 2. pag. m. 565.

‡ Supra Vol. I. Cap. 1. † Demon. *Evang.* lib. 1. cap. 5.

** *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Tatian*, *Clemen. Alex. Strom.* Lib. 1.

Celsus *, “ That *Moses* was elder than *Homer*, yea
 “ than the first inventors of letters in *Greece* ; what he
 “ has concerning the destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomor-*
 “ *rah*, he did not borrow from the story of *Phaëton*,
 “ which is a fable invented after *Homer*’s time, who
 “ lived long after *Moses*.” And in another place *Origen*
 says †, “ I would willingly ask *Celsus*, why he, who
 “ knows the histories of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and
 “ believes their antiquities, should only doubt of the
 “ antiquities of the *Jews* ? If the writers of other na-
 “ tions give a true account of their affairs, why do you
 “ not believe the prophets among the *Jews* ? ——— A
 “ greater man than *Celsus*, *Numenius* the *Pythagorean*,
 “ in his first book, *Περὶ Ταραθου*, when he enumerates
 “ the nations who conceived God to be incorporeal,
 “ reckons the *Jews* among them ; nor was he ashamed
 “ to insert the very words of their prophets, and to in-
 “ terpret the figures they used. ’Tis also said, that
 “ *Hermippus*, in his first book of *lawgivers*, relates, that
 “ *Pythagoras* brought his philosophy from the *Jews* into
 “ *Greece*. The book of *Hecataeus*, containing the histo-
 “ ry of the *Jews*, is still extant, (*viz.* in *Origen*’s time,
 “ tho’ now lost) where he admires the wisdom of that
 “ nation.” Yea, the Christians asserted, that whatever
 useful or excellent thoughts the great men among the
 heathens advanced, were borrowed, or more truly sto-
 len from the writings of the ancient *Jews*, as is demon-
 strated by *Eusebius* || at large, and before him by *Cle-*
mens of *Alexandria* ‡, who calls *Plato* the *Hebrew* phi-
 losopher ; and before them both, by *Tertullian*, who
 says **, “ Is a philosopher to be compared with a
 “ Christian ? A scholar in *Greece* with one taught
 “ by heaven ? One that trades for fame, with him that
 “ trades for life eternal ? A good life with empty
 “ words ? A builder with a destroyer ? A friend
 “ with an enemy of truth ? A thief who steals and
 “ corrupts truth, with one who preserves it pure and
 “ entire ?

* *Contra Celsum*, Lib. 4. pag. 174. † *Ibid.* Lib. 1. pag. 12, 13.

|| *Præp. Evang.* Lib. 10. per totum.

‡ *Stromatum* Lib. 1.

** *Apolog.* cap. 47. *Operum* pag. 52.

“ entire ? If I be not deceived, older than all the philosophers is antiquity built on the holy Scriptures ; this is the treasure for all posterior wisdom. If I did not fear to swell my book into too great a volume, I would run out upon the probation of this truth. Which of the poets, which of the sophists, did not drink at the fountain of the prophets ? Thence the philosophers did quench their thirst ; so as they compare with us by what they had from our Scriptures.” Upon these considerations the accusation appears false and unjust, and *Christianity* the oldest religion in the world.

Secondly, Admit the Christian Religion, in a limited sense, to be of a later standing than the religion of the *Gentiles*, yet 'tis infinitely reasonable to change for the better ; new truth is better than antient error. Thus pleads *Lactantius* *, “ Reason teaches you, that the religion of your heathenish Gods is not true : What wilt thou do ? Wilt thou follow reason or thy ancestors ? ——— If reason, then thou must depart from the custom and authority of thy forefathers, because that only can be right that is prescribed by reason : but if piety towards thy ancestors sway thee to follow them, then thou must own them to be fools, who invented a religion contrary to reason, and thyself to be foolish in worshipping what thou art convinced to be false. Neither hast thou so great reason to boast of these ancestors ; an herd of vagabonds gathered in by *Romulus*, to plant and inhabit his new city, and to constitute the senate thereof, as he there more fully demonstrates. Thus *Arnobius* †, “ As to what you object concerning the novelty of our religion, was it any crime, in the early ages of the world, that when they found out the use of bread and corn, they would no more feed on acorns ; when they found the use of convenient garments, they would no longer clothe themselves with leaves and barks of trees, or beasts skins ? That they were no longer

* De falsa Religione, Lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 135.

† Contra Gentes, Lib. 2. pag. 106.

“ longer fond of base silly cottages, or chose to dwell
 “ like wild beasts in rocks and caves, when they had
 “ learned to build better habitations? ’Tis reasonable
 “ for men to prefer better to what is worse, good to
 “ evil, profitable to what is uselefs, and to follow what
 “ we know to be most excellent, and can thereby ex-
 “ pect salvation and saving advantage. Therefore,
 “ when you charge us with apostacy from the religion
 “ of the ancients, you should rather consider the fact,
 “ and not upbraid us with what we have left, but ra-
 “ ther consider what we have entertain’d: For, if
 “ merely to change our opinion, and to pass from an-
 “ cient institutions to new, be a crime, then none so
 “ guilty of it as yourselves, who have changed your
 “ customs, rites, and manner of life, condemning
 “ those you have abandoned; your election of ma-
 “ gistrates, your classing of your people, the rites of
 “ your religion, your idols, and every thing among
 “ you is new, more than among any set of people:”
 as he there more particularly demonstrates. Thus *Ambrose* bishop of *Milan*, answers *Symmachus* the Pagan præfect of *Rome*, who, in a prolix oration, had exhorted the emperors *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, to favour his religion, saying*, “ That old
 “ age has true cause to blush when ashamed to reform;
 “ ’tis not multitude of years, but the goodness of man-
 “ ners that makes grey hairs worthy of praise; no age
 “ is too late to learn, ’tis no shame to grow better,
 “ *nullus pudor est ad meliora transire*—If you heathens
 “ be so pleased with old rites, how comes it to pass,
 “ that there has been even in *Rome* itself a succession of
 “ new and foreign rites? Not to mention that your
 “ shepherds cottages do now shine with gold, why do
 “ you seek the Idols and Gods of cities you have con-
 “ quered? Why do you receive and imitate the
 “ strange customs of their religious superstition?
 “ Whence comes your *Phrygian* priests, the hateful
 “ Gods of *Carthage* that were enemies to the *Romans*,
 “ the

* *Operum Ambrosii* Tom. 2. pag. 118. & seq. *Epist. lib. 5. Epist. 31.*

“ the Deities of the *Africans*, and the *Mithra* of the
 “ *Persians*, &c.—A Christian Emperor has learned
 “ only to honour *Christ’s altar* ; would you force his
 “ holy hands and pure lips to exhibit honour to your
 “ sacrilegious oblations ? Let the voice of our emperor
 “ only praise, only acknowledge *Christ* ; for *the king’s*
 “ *heart is in the hand of the Lord.*”

A third accusation the heathens used, to render *Christianity* despicable, relates to the circumstances of their external state and condition in the world. Thus the heathen *Cecilius*, in *Minucius Felix*, says *, “ The
 “ Christians are men of a desperate and unlawful fac-
 “ tion, who rage against the Gods, who gather a com-
 “ pany of the very dregs and refuse of the people, and
 “ silly credulous women, who by the weakness of their
 “ sex are easily imposed upon, and combine into a
 “ wicked confederacy ; who, by night-meetings, so-
 “ lemn fasts, and inhuman food, join in an unlawful
 “ union ; a set of people that lurk in corners and shun
 “ the light, silent in publick, but very talkative in
 “ private.” Thus *Celsus* the heathen also alledged †,
 “ That among the Christians no wise learned men were
 “ admitted to the mysteries of their religion, that being
 “ counted unlawful ; but if any be unlearned, an in-
 “ fant or an idiot, let him come with confidence : for
 “ none but fools void of sense, slaves, women or little
 “ children, are fit disciples for the God they worship.”
 Afterward he says ‡, “ We may see these mountebank
 “ impostors boasting of great things to the vulgar, not
 “ in the presence of wise men, that they dare not ; but
 “ wherever they see a flock of boys, slaves, or weak
 “ people, there they crowd in and boast. You’ll see,
 as he adds ‡, “ weavers, taylors, fullers, and the most
 “ rustick illiterate fellows at home, when before their
 “ elders and betters, as mute as fishes, but when they
 “ can get a few boys and silly women in a corner,
 “ then who is so wise, so full of talk, and so able to
 “ teach and instruct as they ? They’ll say the boys
 “ will

* Pag. mihi 19.

† Origen contra Celsum, Lib. 3. pag. 137.

‡ Origen contra Celsum, Lib. 3. pag. 141.

‡ Ibid. pag. 144.

“ will be happy if they hear them, and the whole family for their sake.”

To this accusation *Origen* answers *, “ That ’tis for the most part false and calumnious ; the Christian Doctrine invites to true wisdom.” *David* desires the Lord may make him to know wisdom, *Psalms* li. 6. How eminent for wisdom and learning were *Moses*, *Solomon*, *Daniel*, and other saints in the *Old Testament* ? and our Blessed Redeemer promised to send prophets, wise men, and scribes, *Matth.* xxiii. 34. to propagate his doctrine. The Apostle *Paul* reckons the spirit of knowledge and wisdom among the best of gifts, *1 Cor.* xii. 8. If any where he reflects on wisdom and human learning, he only censures the abuse, never intending to blame the thing itself. When he prescribes the character of a bishop, he requires, *that he be apt to teach, able by sound doctrine to exhort and convince gainsayers*, *Titus* i. 9. That Christians are so far from prohibiting any who come to be instructed, however wise, learned and prudent, provided the unlearned and simple be not excluded, that they are welcome, the Gospel does provide a remedy for all. That learning does not hinder the knowledge of God, but does mightily advance it. *Origen* also adds, “ ’Tis a calumny to compare us to wandering impostors ; for we, by our reading and expounding the divine oracles, do only exhort the people to piety towards the great God, and to the rest of the virtues which are its companions, and do rescue them from brutish and irregular passions. Christians are so far from admitting any, hand over head, that they pre-examine the minds of those who desire to become their auditors ; and when they perceive them fully resolv’d to lead a pious and religious life, then they admit them. ’Tis false to say we apply ourselves only to women and children, and that in corners ; when we endeavour what we can, by all means, to fill our societies with wise, prudent persons, and to such we open the more sublime mysteries of religion ; otherwise accommodating our discourses to the capacities

* Ibid. pag. 138. & sequentibus.

“ pacities of meaner persons, who stand in more need
 “ of milk than strong meat. And whereas we are
 “ accused to seduce and circumvent silly women and
 “ little children *, let him produce any such, and en-
 “ quire of them, whether ever they heard better ma-
 “ sters than ours ; or if they did, why they should
 “ leave so grave discipline, and suffer themselves to be
 “ seduced to a worse ? But he’ll find no such thing
 “ to fasten upon us ; but on the contrary, we reclaim
 “ women from immodesty, from falling out with their
 “ husbands, and parting from them ; from the wild
 “ extravagance of the sports and theatres, from all
 “ superstition whatsoever. The youth, who are prone
 “ to vice and luxury, we restrain, not only by telling
 “ how base a thing lust is, but also into what danger
 “ they precipitate their souls, and what punishment
 “ divine vengeance treasures up for such offenders.
 “ We openly, not in corners, promise eternal happi-
 “ ness to those, who live according to the rules of
 “ the Divine Law, who set God always before their
 “ eyes, and, in whatever they do, endeavour to ap-
 “ prove themselves to him. Is this the discipline, these
 “ the doctrines of weavers, taylors, fullers, and the
 “ most illiterate persons ? Surely no.”

The Christians in these times were also despised on
 account of their poverty and meanness ; they were
 looked on as the dregs of the people, scarce a consi-
 derable man among them. See, says the Heathen in
Minutius Felix †, the most and best of all your party
 are distressed with poverty, cold and hunger. This
 charge, however impertinent, since the goodness of
 any religion does not depend on the greatness of its
 professors, was also most false ; the Christians ha-
 ving among them persons of the best rank and qua-
 lity ; and after some years, the princes and potentates
 of the world, even the emperors themselves struck
 sail to the *sceptre of Christ*. But I have discoursed
 more fully of the great increase of Christianity, and
 of

* Origen contra Celsum, lib. 3. pag. m. 145.

† Pag. 26.

Chap. 5. *to the Accusations of the Heathens.* 37

of the ruin of heathenish idolatry, in the two preceding chapters of this Essay, and therefore shall not now go upon that subject. Tho' we suppose the Christians to have been as mean and poor, as the malice and cruelty of their enemies did endeavour to make them, yet this was no real prejudice to their cause. " That
 " the most part of us are called poor, says the Christian in *Minutius Felix* *, is not our dishonour, but
 " our glory ; the mind, as it is dissolved by luxury,
 " so 'tis strengthened by frugality. But how can a
 " man be poor who wants not, who covets not what
 " is another man's, who is rich towards God? That
 " man is rather poor, who, when he has much, desires more ; no man can be so poor as when he was
 " born. The birds live without any patrimony, the
 " beasts find pasture every day, and we feed on them,
 " and they are born for our use, which, when we do
 " not covet, we enjoy. He goes happier to heaven,
 " who is not burdened with an unnecessary load of
 " riches. Did we think estates so useful to us, we
 " would beg them of God, who being Lord of all,
 " would afford us what is necessary ; but we had rather
 " contemn riches than possess them, and chuse
 " innocence and patience, desiring rather to be good
 " than to be prodigal ; our courage is increased by
 " infirmities, and calamity is oft the discipline of virtue, &c."

The Christians were also charged as very useless, unserviceable people, who contributed nothing to the happiness of the commonwealth ; nay, were destructive to human society, and the procuring cause of the mischiefs and calamities that beset the world. That they were not so unprofitable, *Tertullian* thus demonstrates†:
 " How can this be, when we live among you, have
 " the same diet, habit, manner and way of life ; we
 " are no *Brachmans*, nor *Indian Gymnosophists*, who
 " live in woods, and banish themselves from all civil
 " life ; we are not unmindful of what we owe to our
 " great Creator, and therefore despise none of his

“ creatures, tho’ careful to use them with temperance
 “ and sobriety: wherefore, we live not in the world
 “ without the use of your markets, shambles, baths,
 “ taverns, shops, stables, fairs, and other ways of hu-
 “ man commerce: we go to sea with you, till and
 “ improve the ground; we use merchandise and trade
 “ among you, we exercise crafts and expose our work-
 “ manship to sale. How then are we unserviceable
 “ to your affairs, with and by which we live? I own,
 “ says he *, if any have cause to complain that Chri-
 “ stians are unprofitable, ’tis the bawds, panders,
 “ pimps, hectors and ruffians, sellers of poison, ma-
 “ gicians, soothsayers, wizards, and astrologers; to
 “ be unserviceable to these, is attended with the greatest
 “ fruit and advantage: but whatever loss arises to
 “ your affairs by our sect, ’tis more than compensated;
 “ for we cast out devils, we pray for you that do
 “ not believe, and you have nothing to fear from us.”

The Christians did also plead they were serviceable to
 the publick good; *first*, by reclaiming men from sin
 and vice, to a good and virtuous life; by which they
 provided for mens highest interest, their eternal hap-
 piness in the life to come, and for the peace and
 welfare of the place where they lived: wicked men
 being the plague of human society. This is the ar-
 gument which *Origen* at every turn uses to the honour
 of Christianity: “ A good man, says he †, will esteem
 “ a physician who restores the bodies of many sick
 “ people to health, as a favour from God.. How far
 “ better is he who heals and converts their souls from
 “ the evil of their ways? teaching them to depend
 “ on God, to regulate their actions according to
 “ his will, and to shun the least evil action that dis-
 “ pleases him.— Enquire ‡ into the lives of some
 “ of us, compare our former and our present course,
 “ and you may perceive in what filthiness and impieties
 “ men wallowed, before they entertained the Christian
 “ Doctrine; but since they entred into it, how just,
 grave,

* *Apol. Operum* cap. 43.

† *Contra Celsum*, lib. 1. pag 9.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 21.

“grave, moderate, and constant are they become?
 “Yea, some so inflamed with the love of purity and
 “holiness, that they forbear even what lawfully they
 “might enjoy. The Church is full of these in every
 “place thro’ the world*.—How is it possible they
 “can be pestilent and hurtful, who have converted
 “so many from the sink of vice to the study of
 “virtue, to a life of temperance, agreeable to the
 “dictates of right reason?” *Theodoret* discoursing a-
 gainst the *Gentiles*, of the excellency of the laws of
Christ, above any given by the best philosophers, or
 wisest among the heathens†, gives them instances of
 whole nations, whom Christianity had brought off from
 the most brutish and savage manners. He tells of the
Persians, who, according to the laws given by *Zarada*,
 lived in incestuous mixtures with their own sisters, mo-
 thers and daughters, looking on it as a lawful practice:
 but so soon as they entertained Christianity, they a-
 bandoned these abominable laws, and submitted to that
 temperance and chastity the Gospel requires. And
 whereas, they were wont to cast out the bodies of their
 dead, to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey; since
 they embraced the Christian Religion, they abstained
 from that piece of inhumanity, and decently buried
 them.—The *Massagetæ*, who thought it the most
 miserable thing to die any other than a violent death,
 and therefore made a law, *That all persons arrived to*
old age, should be offered in sacrifice and eaten; no sooner
 submitted to Christianity, but they abhorred such bar-
 barous customs. The *Tibares*, who used to throw aged
 persons down the steepest rocks, abandoned this upon
 their embracing the Gospel.—Nor did the *Scythians*
 any longer with their dead bury those alive, who had
 been their nearest friends and kindred. So great a
 change did the laws of *Christ* make on the manners of
 men, and so easily were the most barbarous nations
 persuaded to entertain them! A thing which *Plato*,
 tho’ the best of philosophers, could never effectuate

* Ibid. lib. 2. pag. 78.

† Theodoret de curandis Græcorum affectibus, Serm. 9.

among the *Athenians* ; he could never induce them to govern the commonwealth by the laws he had given.

Where the Gospel did not produce this effect to reclaim men from vice and vanity, and to bring them over to the religion of our Saviour ; yet it had this excellent influence, as it refined their understandings, and filled their minds with more useful and practical notions about religion, than ever they had before. To this purpose 'tis observable, the philosophers who lived in the time of Christianity, after the Gospel publicly appeared in the world, wrote in a much more divine strain, and entertained more honourable sentiments of religion, than those of their sect who went before them ; of which no account can be given so satisfying, as, that the genius and spirit of the Gospel began then to fly abroad, and to breathe in a free air, and so could not but leave some tincture and savour upon the spirits of men, tho' its most inveterate enemies. Besides, many of them did converse with the sacred scriptures, or with the writings of Christians, which they read either out of curiosity, or with a design to confute them. This furnished them with better notions, and more useful rules of life, than are to be found in any of the old philosophers ; as appears by those uncommon Rules of morality that run thro' the writings of *Seneca*, *Epiſtetus*, *Antoninus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, *Hierocles*, *Simplicius*, *Plotinus*, and others, who lived in these first ages of the Christian Church. See for example the prayer, whereby *Simplicius* concludes his comment on *Epiſtetus* *, which may be thus translated : *I beseech thee, O Lord, thou who art the Father and Guide of our rational powers, grant, that we may be mindful of those noble and generous natures with which thou hast invested us ; and assist us, that as persons endowed with self-moving principles, we may cleanse ourselves from all bodily and brutish passions, that we may subdue and govern them, and in a due and decent manner use them only as organs and instruments. Help us, thro' the Light of the Truth,*

* *Simplicius in Epiſtetum*, pag. m. 364. *Cave's primitive Christianity*, pag. 40.

Truth, accurately to correct our reason, and unite it to those things that have a real existence. And in the third place, I beseech my Saviour, that he would perfectly dispel the mist that is before the eyes of our minds, that, according to Homer, we may rightly understand what belongs either to God or man. Here, there is something like an invocation of the Trinity, the *Lord or Father, the Saviour or Christ, and the Light of Truth*, which is a common Epithet of the *Holy Spirit*, tho' we cannot say he intended this. 2dly, The primitive Christians ordinarily wrought such miracles as were very beneficial to the world, in curing diseases, raising the dead, and rescuing possessed persons from the cruelty and rage of the devil, of which possessed persons there were very many in those times; Providence permitting it to be so, that there might be a fairer occasion of commending Christianity to the world. Of these miraculous cures done by primitive Christians, I have produced several documents in the third chapter of this Essay, which I shall not here repeat; only remark, that *Tertullian*, writing to *Scapula* the President, produces particular instances of them *, telling him, *He might be satisfied by his own records, and those very advocates who had themselves reaped this benefit by Christians, and by a certain notary, who, being possessed with a devil, was thus delivered, and the kinsman and child of another, besides divers others, persons of note and quality; not to speak of the meaner sort, who had been delivered either from the devil or desperate diseases.* Yea *Severus*, the father of *Antoninus*, having been cured by being anointed with oil by *Proculus* a Christian, he kept him in his palace to his death, whom *Antoninus* knew well, having been himself nursed upon Christian milk.

Tho' the case was thus evident how much the world was obliged to the Christians, yet they were looked upon as the pest of human society, and counted the common enemies of mankind; as *Tertullian* complains †: “ If the city be besieged, if any thing hap-
“ pen

* Ad *Scapulam*, cap. 4. pag. 92.

† *Apolog.* cap. 1. *Operum* pag. m. 17.

42 *The Answers of Primitive Christians*

“ pen ill in the fields, in the garrisons, in the islands,
 “ presently they cry out, *'Tis because of the Christians.*
 “ They were counted a troublesome people*, the
 “ enemies of mankind. Our enemies, *says the same*
 “ *author*, conspire the ruin of good men †, and thirst
 “ after the blood of the innocent, cloaking their hatred
 “ with this vain pretence, *That the Christians are the*
 “ *cause of all publick calamities.* If *Tyber* flows up to
 “ the walls, if the river *Nile* do not overflow the fields,
 “ if the heavens alter their course, if there be an
 “ earthquake, a famine, a plague; presently the cry
 “ is, *Away with the Christians to the lions!*” *Arnobius*
 tells us ‡, The Heathens were wont to object at every
 turn, and to conclude it as sure as if dictated by an
 oracle, That since the Christians appeared in the world,
 the earth had been well nigh undone, mankind had been
 over-run with infinite kinds of evils, and the very Gods
 themselves had withdrawn that solemn concern where-
 with they were wont to superintend human affairs. So
 hot and common was this charge among the Pagans,
 that *Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*, was obliged to write
 those excellent Books, *De civitate Dei*, on purpose to
 stop this objection, when the *Goths* and *Vandals* broke
 in upon the *Roman* empire; at his request, *Orosius*
 wrote his seven books of history against the Pagans.

To this charge the Christians answered, *first*, That
 the *Gentiles* might find the true cause of these things
 nearer home; there being just cause to think, Divine
 Providence was offended with them for their own sins.
Tertullian tells them ||, the real ground of God's dis-
 pleasure was, that when they knew God, they glorified
 him not as God, neither were thankful, but became
 vain in their imaginations, and changed the glory of
 the incorruptible God into an image made like a cor-
 ruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and
 creeping things, as the apostle had before told them.
 That it is more credible, God was offended with them
 who despised him, and worshipped statues of wood
 and

* Apolog. cap. 37. pag. 46.

† Ibid. cap. 40. pag. 48.

‡ Contra Gentes, lib. 1. pag. 1.

|| Apolog. cap. 40, 41. pag. 45.

and stone, than with Christians, who worshipped him according to the rule of his own word. *Cyprian* tells *Demetrian*, then Proconsul *, “ God is not angry
 “ with us who worship him, but these evils come upon
 “ you for your sins, who neither seek nor fear God,
 “ nor leaving your vain superstitions, do you own the
 “ true religion ; God alone is to be worshipped and
 “ served : hear his own words, *Thou shalt worship the*
 “ *Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Thou*
 “ *shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not*
 “ *go after strange gods, nor worship them.*— † You
 “ are displeased that God is angry, as if, in living ill,
 “ you deserved well, and as if God had not punished
 “ you less than your iniquities do deserve. Thou
 “ who judgest others, judge thy self ; inspect the retire-
 “ ments of thy own Conscience, and behold thyself
 “ now, who shalt one day be seen naked by all. Thou
 “ art either puffed up with pride, swelled with cove-
 “ tousness, cruel in anger, spendthrift in game, drunk
 “ with wine, full of envy, debauch’d with lust, or mad
 “ with cruelty : And why shouldst thou wonder, that
 “ the flames of divine anger should rise higher, when
 “ the sins of men daily call for it ?” This answer he
 there prosecutes to excellent purpose, and exhorts the
 heathen Proconsul ‡, “ Leave then your idols, which
 “ the corrupt minds of men have devised, turn unto
 “ God ; if you seek him, he will help you ; believe on
 “ Christ, whom the Father hath sent to restore us
 “ unto life ; give over hurting and persecuting the ser-
 “ vants of God and Christ ; for divine vengeance will
 “ pursue the persecutors.”

Secondly, As to the thing itself charged upon the
 Christians, they denied it to be true, and that for two
 reasons ; 1st, Because the world had been sadly and
 frequently pestered with such miseries, long before the
 Christian Religion appeared in it. “ Pray, says *Ter-*
 “ *tullian* ||, what miseries did overwhelm the world,
 “ and

* *Cyprian contra Demetrianum*, pag. m. 217.

† *Ibid.* pag. 219. ‡ *Ibid.* pag. 224.

|| *Apolog. cap. 40. Operum pag. 48. Edit. Coloniae, 1617. Notis*
Pamellii.

44 *The Answers of the Primitive Christians*

“ and even *Rome* itself, before the times of *Tiberius*,
 “ that is, before the coming of Christ? Have we not
 “ read of *Hierapolis*, and the islands of *Delos*, *Rhodes*
 “ and *Cos*, destroyed with many thousands of men in
 “ them? Does not *Plato* speak of the greater part of
 “ *Asia* and *Africk* carried off by the *Atlantick* sea?
 “ An earthquake drank up the *Corinthian* sea, and
 “ the force of the ocean rent off *Sicily* from *Italy*.
 “ Were the Christians the great contemners of your
 “ gods then? But, where were your gods themselves,
 “ when the flood over-ran the world?— *Palestine*
 “ had not then received the *Jewish* nation out of
 “ *Egypt*; much less had the Christians sat down there,
 “ when *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, with the adjacent places,
 “ were burnt up by a shower of fire and brimstone,
 “ of which the country smells to this day; if any
 “ apples or trees be seen there, when touched, they
 “ turn into ashes. Nor could *Tuscia* and *Campania*
 “ complain of the Christians, when a fire from heaven
 “ destroyed the *Volfinii* and the *Pompeii*. None as yet
 “ worshipped the true God at *Rome*, when *Hannibal*
 “ at *Cannæ* made such a slaughter of the *Romans*,
 “ that the very rings which he took, being the honour-
 “ able badges of none but *Roman* Knights, were mea-
 “ sured by the bushel. Your gods were generally
 “ worshipped when the *Gauls* took the capitol itself.”

So does this grave author retort their arguments upon
 themselves. *Arnobius* does the same*, and bids them
 run over the annals and records, which were written in
 all languages, and they'll find, that all nations had
 their common miseries and devastations. The clearing
 of this argument was the great design of *Orosius*, in
 drawing down the history of the world thro' all ages.
 2dly, The Christians answered, Since our religion en-
 tred into the world, affairs have been more prosperous
 than before, especially when the Christian Religion was
 encouraged. *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, in an oration
 which he presented to the Emperor *M. Antoninus*,

* *Contra Gentes*, lib. 1. pag. m. 10, 11.

(part whereof is yet extant in *Eusebius* *) tells him, " That Christianity commencing under the reign of " *Augustus*, was a good omen of the prosperity of the " empire ; and ever since, the *Roman* empire had increased : to which he, with his son, being the happy " successor, he could not better assure it to himself, " than by protecting that religion which had been " born and bred up together with the empire, and " for which his ancestors had an esteem and honour. " That it was a great argument that this religion contributed to the happiness of the empire, with which " it began and had grown up. That since the reign " of *Augustus* no misfortune, but, on the contrary, " according to all mens wishes, every thing had happened to be magnificent and prosperous. Of all the " Emperors, only *Nero* and *Domitian* did persecute " our doctrine : — But your predecessors did, by their " orders, restrain attempts that way." *Eusebius* also once and again observes †, that the affairs of the empire commonly flourished when Christianity was protected ; but when that was persecuted, things went to rack, and their ancient peace and prosperity could not be retrieved, till peace was restored to the Christians. Therefore *Cyprian* tells the Proconsul ‡, that their cruelty to the Christians was one of the crying sins that had provoked God to inflict so many heavy miseries upon them ; not only refusing to worship God themselves, but unjustly persecuting those that did, with all the methods of rage and cruelty. — Why is your cruelty so insatiable ? Either to be a Christian is a crime, or it is not : If it be a crime, why do you not kill those who confess it ? If it be no crime, why do you punish the innocent ? Thus, tho' outward prosperity be no evidence of a true religion, Christians being to be judged rather by their holiness than their prosperity, yet they made it evident, they were not the cause of pulling down vengeance on the world ; their enemies rather pulled it down upon their own heads.

The

* Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 26. † Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 1. lib. 8. cap. 13.

‡ Ad Demetrianum, pag. m. 221, 222.

The fourth, and indeed the heaviest charge made by the *Gentiles* against the *Christians*, was on the account of their moral carriage and behaviour. Here they are accused at every turn of no less than sacrilege, sedition, and high treason, of incest and promiscuous mixtures, of murder, and eating the flesh of infants. Of all these crimes the heathen in *Minutius Felix* * accuses the Christians; the same is to be seen in *Athenagoras* †. The Christians denied this charge as false and calumnious, maintaining their innocency, declaring by their lives, as well as by their apologies, they were men quite of another make and temper, than their enemies generally did represent them. Their Religion and way of life deserved the praise of all.

“ Who, says *Clement* in his excellent epistle to the
 “ *Corinthians* ||, did ever dwell among you, that did
 “ not approve of your excellent and unshaken faith?
 “ That did not wonder at your sober and moderate
 “ piety in Christ? Who did not declare the greatness
 “ of your hospitality? And did not judge your per-
 “ fect and stable knowledge fit to make you happy?
 “ You do all things without respect of persons, walk-
 “ ing in God’s statutes, subject to those who rule
 “ over you in the Lord, and giving due honour to
 “ your elders. You command young men to live an
 “ honest and sober life, women to behave without
 “ blemish, to live chastly and holily, keeping a con-
 “ science void of offence, loving their husbands, as in
 “ duty they are obliged, managing their household
 “ affairs with all sobriety. You are humble, not
 “ proud, subject rather than subjecting, content
 “ with the daily bread God gives you, hearing dili-
 “ gently his word, enlarged in your bowels of charity,
 “ as mindful of the *sufferings of Christ*. Thus you
 “ enjoy a profound peace, filled with a desire of doing
 “ good, having God’s holy spirit poured out upon
 “ you.— Doing all things in the fear of God, having
 “ his

* *Minutius Felix*, *Pag.* 20. & seq.

† *Legatio pro Christianis*, *Pag.* 4.

|| *Clemens*, *Pag.* 5. & seq. Edit. London 1687.

“ his laws written upon the tables of your heart.”
Athenagoras says, they placed their Religion not in talking finely, but in living well. “ Among us, says he *, the meanest poor labourers, and old women, tho’ not able to discourse and dispute for the usefulness of their profession, do yet demonstrate it by their lives and good works.— They don’t indeed critically weigh their words, and recite elegant orations, but they manifest honest and virtuous actions, while, being buffeted, they strike not again, nor sue them at law, who spoil and plunder them; liberally they give to them that ask, and love their neighbours as themselves. Thus we do, because we are assured there is a God who superintends human affairs, who made us, and the whole world, to whom we are to give an account of all the transactions done in our lives; therefore we do not grudge to live on a little competency in the world, to be bountiful to all, tho’ to many this appear a contemptible course of life: for we reckon, that no evil in this world can be so great, tho’ we should lay down our lives, which is not to be esteemed little, yea, of no value, in comparison of that reward which we look for from the great Judge of the world, promised to those who are of a humble, benign, and moderate conversation.” Yea, so careful were those primitive Christians to avoid any sinful action, that they stood at a great distance from any thing, tho’ lawful in itself, that seemed to carry an ill colour with it. This was the reason, as *Origen* tells *Celsus* †, why they refused to do any honour to an image, lest thereby they should give occasion to others to think they ascribed divinity to them; and for this cause they shunned all community with the customs of the heathens, abstaining from things strangled, or that had been offered to idols, from frequenting the publick baths, or going to the publick shows, because they seemed to owe their original to idolatry, and were the
occasion

* Ubi supra, Pag. 12.

† Lib. 7. Pag. 375.

occasion of many great enormities: they refused to wear crowns of laurel, lest they should seem to patronize the custom of the *Gentiles*, who were wont to do so in their sacred and solemn rites; as appeared in the solemnities of the emperors *Severus* and *Caracalla*, when the tribune delivered the donative to the soldiers, and all came to receive it with crowns on their heads; one of them brought his crown in his hand, being asked the reason, answered, *He was a Christian, and could not do it*; which was the occasion of *Tertullian's* book, *De Corona Militis*, where he defends this practice of the soldier.

Secondly, The Christians were willing to put themselves to the strictest trial, and to undergo the severest penalties, if found guilty of those crimes that were charged upon them. *Athenagoras*, in his embassy, says *, “ If we be convicted of any evil, let us be
 “ punished; but not for our mere name. No Christian
 “ is a wicked man, unless he act contrary to his pro-
 “ fession. If any man convict us either of a greater
 “ or lesser crime, we seek not to be free of punishment,
 “ yea we are willing to suffer the cruellest you can
 “ put upon us; but if we be accused only for our
 “ name (for to this day those things that are said of us
 “ are but idle reports, neither has any Christian been
 “ convicted of any crime) it belongs to you, most ex-
 “ cellent princes, to vindicate us from this injury,
 “ since over the world, both private persons and pub-
 “ lick cities and communities enjoy benefits under your
 “ government; so let us have occasion to give thanks
 “ to you, and rejoice that we are vindicated from such
 “ calumnies.—† There is an infamous report, that we
 “ are guilty of three great crimes, *of impiety against the*
 “ *Gods, of Thyestean feasts*, that is, feeding on mur-
 “ dered infants, and of *incestuous copulations*. If these
 “ be true, spare no sex, no age, punish us with our
 “ wives and children, extirpate us out of the world,
 “ if any among us live as beasts, tho’ even beasts do
 “ not

* Legatio pro Christianis, *Pag.* 3, 4.

† Athenagoras, *Ibid.* Cap. 4.

“ not these abominable things ; but if any man be
 “ baser than a beast, to commit such wickedness, let
 “ him be punished for it. But if these be forged and
 “ scandalous calumnies of wicked men from malice
 “ against the truth, notice them as such. Enquire into
 “ our life, into our opinions, into our obedience to
 “ authority, our concern for your person and govern-
 “ ment ; allow us but the common justice and equity
 “ you grant your enemies, we ask no more, and we
 “ are assured of the victory, being willing to lay down
 “ our lives for the truth.” But so clear was their in-
 nocency, that their enemies durst not let them come
 to a fair open trial. “ If you are certain, says *Ter-*
 “ *tullian* to the heathens *, we are guilty, why then
 “ are we not treated in the same way with the male-
 “ factors ? who are allowed by themselves and their
 “ advocates, to defend their innocency, to answer and
 “ put in pleas, it being unlawful to condemn any,
 “ before they be heard and have liberty to defend
 “ themselves. But Christians only are not permitted
 “ to speak any thing that might clear their cause,
 “ defend their innocency, or prevent the judge to give
 “ an unjust sentence. ’Tis enough to justify the pub-
 “ lick odium, that we confess our name, a *Christian*,
 “ without ever examining the crime, contrary to the
 “ form of procedure with other delinquents ; ’tis not
 “ sufficient to charge them to be murderers, sacrile-
 “ gious, or incestuous, or enemies to the publick, the
 “ titles you are pleased to bestow upon us, unless they
 “ have the quality of the fact, place, manner, time,
 “ partners, and accessories under examination. But
 “ no such favour is shown to us, we are condemned
 “ without any inquisition past upon us : where was ever
 “ our murdering of children, feasting on them, or our
 “ incestuous mixtures proved ? Were no men, cooks,
 “ dogs, witnesses ? How great should the honour of
 “ that judge be, who had proved any such fact ?”
 This procedure one would think strange, among a
 people

* Apolog. Cap. 1, 2. Operum Pag. m. 18.

people so renowned for justice as the *Romans*, yet in these times nothing more ordinary; they were condemned only for being Christians. The same *Tertullian* says, it was commonly in their enemies mouths †, *Cajus Sejus is a good man, only he is a Christian; or, I wonder at Lucius a good man, but lately turn'd a Christian.* But the innocency of these saints supported them against the unjust calumnies, and cruel persecutions of their adversaries.

Thirdly, They appealed, for their vindication, to the judgment and conscience of their more sober and impartial enemies, and were acquitted by them as not guilty of any such heinous crimes. *Pliny* the younger being appointed by *Trajan* the emperor to give him an account of the Christians, tells him *, *after the best estimate he could make, and the strictest inquisition he could take by tortures, (he being then proconsul in Bithynia) he found no worse of them, than that they were wont to meet early for performing solemn devotions, and bind themselves under the most sacred obligations to commit no vice nor wickedness, and that their Religion was nothing else but an untoward and immoderate superstition.* After him, *Serenius Granianus* proconsul of *Asia* writes to the emperor *Adrian*, *Trajan's* successor, to represent to him †, *How unjust it was to put Christians to death, when no crime was duly laid to their charge, merely to gratify the tumultuous clamours of the people.* To whom the emperor answers, *That they should not be unjustly troubled, but if any thing was truly proved against them, he should punish them according to the nature of their fault; but if done out of malice or spite, he should then punish the accuser as a calumniator.*—Next to *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, in his epistle to the Commons of *Asia*, tells them ‡, *They had traduced the Christians, and had objected these crimes to them which they could not prove; that*

† Apolog. Cap. 3. Pag. 20.

* Epist. Lib. 10. Epist. 97.

† Apud Eusebium Hist. Eccl. Lib. 4. Cap. 8, 9.

‡ Justin Martyr, Apolog. 2. Operum Pag. 100. Supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

that they were more firm and undaunted in their profession than themselves, and had a greater freedom and confidence towards God; and therefore he resolved to ratify and follow the determination of his fathers. After him comes *M. Antoninus*, who having obtained the signal victory against the *Quades* in *Germany*, confesses in his letter to the senate †, “ That it was obtained by the prayers of “ the Christian Legion which was in his army, (as has been formerly more fully illustrated **,) “ and there- “ fore commands, that none be molested for being “ Christians, and that if any accuse a Christian for “ being such, without any sufficient crime proved “ against him, he shall be burned alive for his accu- “ sation. But a Christian, confessing himself to be one, “ shall be safe and secure, and the governour of the “ province shall not drive him to renounce his profes- “ sion. And this he commands to be confirmed by “ the decree of the senate.” So clear did the Christians appear to their greatest enemies, in their more calm and sober intervals. Even *Trypho* the *Jew*, his very nation speaks him enemy enough, confesses them clear of these foul aspersions: * “ When *Justin Martyr* had “ asked him, if he really believed the Christians did “ eat man’s flesh, and putting out candles ran together “ in promiscuous mixtures? the *Jew* answers, These “ things, whereof they were accused by many, were “ unworthy of belief, being extremely abhorrent to “ human nature; and that the precepts commanded in “ their Gospel, which curiosity had prompted him to “ read, were so great and admirable, that he supposed “ no man could be able to keep and obey them.” Fi- nally, the heathen oracle itself pronounced in favour of the Christians †; for *Apollo* giving forth his oracles, not as he was wont by human voice, but out of a dark and dismal cavern, confessed, *It was because of just men that lived upon the earth:* And when *Dioclesian* enquired,

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who

† *Justin Martyr*, Apolog. 2. Pag. 101, 102..

** *Supra*, Vol. 1. Cap. 3.

* *Justin Martyr* Dialog. cum *Tryphone*, Operum Pag. 227.

† *Euseb. de Vita Constantini*, Lib. 2. Cap. 45.

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who these just men were? one of the heathen priests that stood by answered, *That they were the Christians.* This *Constantine the Great* says, he himself heard, being then a young man, and in company with that emperor; and he solemnly calls God to witness for the truth of the story. From the whole it appears, that even by the confession of enemies, the Christians were innocent of those things the *Gentiles* charged upon them. *Origen* triumphs in the innocency of their lives, saying ||, *The churches of God which had embraced the discipline of Christ, if compared to the common societies of men, were among them like lights in the world; for who is there but he must confess, the worsser part of our church is better than the popular assemblies? The church of God at Athens is meek and quiet, approving itself to the great God; whereas the popular assembly at Athens is seditious and tumultuous. The same may be said of the churches of God, and the vulgar assemblies at Corinth or Alexandria.* Thus, *Minutius Felix* says to the heathen ‡, “ Should
 “ we *Christians* be compared with you, tho’ our discipline should seem somewhat inferior, yet we shall
 “ be found infinitely to transcend you. You forbid
 “ adultery, and then practise it, we keep intirely by
 “ our own wives; you punish wickedness when committed, with us even a wicked thought is sin; you
 “ stand in awe of those who are conscious of your
 “ crimes, we of nothing but our own consciences,
 “ without which we cannot be. In fine, ’tis with
 “ your party the prisons are filled with criminals; no
 “ Christian is there, unless he be either a shame to
 “ his Religion, or an apostate from it.” And a little after he tells his * adversary “ how much they exceeded the best of philosophers, whom they knew to
 “ be wicked men, adulterers, and tyrannical, eloquent
 “ to declaim against those vices of which themselves
 “ were most guilty: But we Christians do not measure
 “ wisdom by mens clothes, but by their mind; we
 “ do

|| *Contra Celsum*, Lib. 3. *Pag.* 128, 129.

‡ *Pag.* mihi 81.

* *Minutius Felix*, *Pag.* 88.

“ do not speak great things, but live them ; having
 “ this to boast, we really attain to those things which
 “ they earnestly sought, but could not find.” In another
 place, the same author † speaking of the crimes the
 heathens objected to the Christians, says, “ None
 “ would believe us guilty of these crimes, but those
 “ who dare commit them themselves. I see you hea-
 “ thens expose your young infants to be devoured by
 “ birds and wild beasts, and sometimes strangle and
 “ kill them with miserable deaths ; your women drink
 “ medicaments to destroy the birth, being guilty of
 “ parricide before they bring forth. And this they de-
 “ fend by the doctrine of their Gods, for *Saturn* ex-
 “ posed and also devoured his own Children ; to him
 “ in some parts of *Africa* parents sacrifice their chil-
 “ dren, with kisses keeping down their cries, lest a
 “ weeping sacrifice should be offered. It was the
 “ custom of *Tauris*, *Pontus*, and the *Egyptian Busiris*, to
 “ sacrifice their guests ; the *Gauls* offer human or rather
 “ inhuman sacrifices. Even the *Romans* kill a living
 “ *Greek* man or *Greek* woman, a *Gaul* or a *Gaulish*
 “ woman ; and *Jupiter Latialis* is at this day worshipped
 “ by homicide, a sacrifice worthy of the son of *Saturn*.—
 “ But we Christians will neither see nor hear of homicide,
 “ our Religion is to live without spot or blemish.”
 Therefore *Eusebius* tells us ||, That the Christian Faith
 had, by gravity, sincerity, modesty and holiness of life,
 conquered all opposition ; that none durst bespatter or
 charge it with any of those calumnies, which the an-
 cient enemies of our Religion used to fasten upon it.
 And *Tertullian* openly declares ‡, That when men de-
 part from the discipline of the Gospel, they so far cease
 among us to be accounted Christians ; we necessarily de-
 sire and study piety and virtue, that we may secure our own
 salvation. He who desires to see more of the primi-
 tive Christians, their piety to God, sobriety toward
 themselves, and righteousness to their neighbours, may

† *Ibid.* Pag. 69, 70.

|| *Hist. Eccl. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.*

‡ *Apolog. Cap. 46. Pag. 52.*

read, beside other authors, *Dr. Cave's Primitive Christianity.*

Before I conclude this chapter, I shall discourse a little of the abominable vices and extravagancies of the best of the heathens, even of the *Romans* themselves. I have before spoke of their idolatry, polytheism, worship of demons, human sacrifices, their obscene worship of *Priapus*, *Berycinthia*, and others, and of their vain divinations, consulting devils, in the second chapter of this treatise, and in this; and also of their cruelty to *Jews* and *Christians*, manifested in the several persecutions, of which in the third chapter; and of *Julian's* methods to restore *Paganism*, in the fourth chapter: none of which shall be now repeated. But their cruelty may further appear in the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, in their tumults and seditions, of which the *Roman* history is full; in the emperors most arbitrarily murdering their subjects without any ground or reason, of which *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* give many instances; and, which was more peculiar to them, in the sword-fights of their gladiators upon the theatres, which were first exhibited by *Junius Brutus* in honour of his father's funerals; but, as *Peter Martyr* observes, not to please his father's manes or ghost, but rather to please the devil. Afterward these hired gladiators became very common; *Cæsar* in his *Ædileship* exhibited 320 pair; *Trajan*, by the space of 123 days without intermission, exhibited ten thousand. No war made such havock of mankind as these games of pleasure; the *Romans* had theatres and amphitheatres where an hundred thousand persons might behold them, and with a brutish satisfaction see men murder one another, and fall like victims to their demons. These games were decryed by the pens of the first Christian writers, as *Lactantius* *, *Tertullian* †, *Cyprian* ‡, and afterward by the laws of *Constantine* the Great

* Libro 6. de Vero Cultu, Cap. 20. Pag. m. 553.

† De Spectaculis, Operum Pag. 151, & seq.

‡ Epist. ad Donatum.

Great *, and other Christian emperors who succeeded him †, banished out of the world. Not only were the *Romans* unmerciful, in exposing themselves to death on their theatres by encountring men and beasts, but also by holding it lawful, yea, in some cases, commendable to lay violent hands upon themselves, extinguishing the lamp of their own lives, of which I have given many documents already ||. Now, beside that this is inhuman and most contrary to the laws of God, what courage is it for a man to turn away from misery, that he dare not look death or dangers in the face? What wisdom to commend subjects for dispatching themselves at their own pleasure? To rob the state of a member, and perhaps of a serviceable one too, as *Cato* was? What justice for men, thro' weakness of mind, or strength of passion incapable of reason, to pass sentence, and do execution against themselves? Yea, what impiety is in it to go off the world sinning against God in the most horrid manner, renouncing that love they ought by the law of nature to have for themselves? Which should teach them to preserve the Being God has given in order to a well-being. The *Romans* also, by the laws of *Romulus* the founder of their state, as reported by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* ‡, were allowed to expose some of their children: *He ordained*, says that author, *That every male should be educated, and of the females the first-born, and that no child should be put to death before three years of age, except they were maimed or monsters from their birth; he ordered such should be exposed, yet not before the parents did shew it to five men of their neighbours, who should approve of it.* *Seneca* says **, *We kill monstrous births; nay, our very children, if they be weak and deformed, we cast them forth.* I might also discourse of the excessive covetousness of the *Romans*, of their robbing and spoiling the provinces, of their monstrous uncleanness of all kinds, of their luxury

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* Euseb. de Vita Constantini, Lib. 4. Cap. 24.

† Codex Theodosii, Lib. 15. tit. 5. De Spectaculis.

|| Supra, Vol. 1. Cap. 1.

‡ Antiq. Rom. Lib. 2. cap. 15. Pag. m. 86. ** De Ira. —

in diet and apparel, in eating and drinking, in retinues of their servants, in furniture of their houses, bathing and anointing their bodies, prodigality in gifts, and in setting forth plays and theatrical shows, arrogancy and vain-glory ; in all which their excess was incredible : but particular insisting on these, is not necessary to my purpose. The wickedness and folly of the impious superstition of the *Gentiles*, and the great blessing of the Christian Religion in delivering us from it, is evident from what is already said. They who are curious to know more of these vices among the ancient *Romans*, may read *Meursius de Luxu Romanorum*, and *Hackwell's Apology for the power and providence of God in the government of the world*, Book IV.

If it be objected, *How can these things be charged on the ancient Romans, who were renowned for justice, wisdom and courage ?* I answer with *Lactantius* *,
 “ Dare these wicked men mention their *justice*, who
 “ exceed savage beasts in cruelty ; like ravening wolves,
 “ who in a cloudy day are driven forth by the rage of
 “ their bellies to seek their prey ? But these men are
 “ enraged not with greedy appetites, but with cruel
 “ hearts ; neither are they afraid of darkness, but com-
 “ mit devastation with open violence ; nor are they ever
 “ touched with a remorse of conscience, for profaning
 “ the holy and divine name of *justice*, with mouths
 “ much like those of wild beasts, polluted with the
 “ blood of innocents.” Again, he says †, ’Tis not
 “ difficult to tell, why the worshippers of the heathen
 “ Gods cannot be good and just men. How should
 “ they abstain from blood, who worship such bloody
 “ Gods as *Mars* and *Bellona* ? How should they
 “ spare their parents, who worship *Jupiter*, who ba-
 “ nished his father out of heaven ? Or spare their
 “ children, who adore *Saturn*, who devoured his own
 “ children ? How shall they preserve chastity, who
 “ worship a naked and adulterous Goddess, a com-
 mon

* Lib. 5. de *Justitia*, Cap. 9. Pag. m. 418.

† *Lactantius* ubi supra, Cap. 10. Pag. 425.

“ mon prostitute? How shall they abstain from
“ robbery and cheating, who are acquainted with the
“ thefts of *Mercury*, teaching, *That to deceive is not*
“ *fraud, but cunning?* How shall they bridle their lust,
“ who adore *Jupiter, Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo*, and
“ the rest of that tribe, whose adulteries and uncleanness
“ with males and females, are not only known to
“ the learned, but are acted and sung in their theatres,
“ that they may be known to all? Is it possible for
“ men in this case to be just, who, tho’ they were
“ naturally well disposed, yet, by the examples of
“ their very gods, are taught to commit unrighteousness?
“ For, to please the deity you worship, ’tis
“ necessary you do those things wherein they delight,
“ imitation being the most religious kind of worship.”
Lest the Christians should be blamed for any of these crimes, he says further *, “ They are none of our people,
“ but yours, who rob on the highways, and turn
“ pyrates by sea ; or if open violence will not serve
“ their turn, they prepare poisons, they make away
“ their wives, that they may get their dowries ; or
“ their husbands, that they may marry their adulterers ;
“ who either strangle their infants, or, if they be more devout,
“ expose them ; who forbear not incestuous lusts with their own
“ daughters, sisters or mothers, or with their consecrated virgins ;
“ who conspire against their own country ; and finally, who
“ commit sacrilege, and rob the very temples of those gods they
“ worship. Not to speak of crimes you think less of, who supplant
“ heirs, forge testaments, prostitute their bodies to unnatural
“ lusts, cut off their virilities, that they may be priests of their
“ own religion ; who sell themselves to death ; who corrupt
“ judges to absolve the guilty ; who seek heaven by witchcraft
“ and charming, because the earth is not able to bear their
“ wickedness. These, and many more crimes are committed by
“ those who worship your gods, and why should you boast of
“ your righteousness? I have collected but a few of your faults,

* Lactantius ubi supra, cap. 9. pag. 420. & seq.

“ faults, not to censure, but to manifest them. They
 “ who desire to understand more, let them take into
 “ their hands the books of *Seneca*, who truly describes,
 “ and justly censures their publick manners and vices ;
 “ and of *Lucilius*, who describes their abominable
 “ hidden life.—But to our people, that is, the *Chri-*
 “ *stians*, none of these things can be objected, whose
 “ religion is to live without spot and blemish.”

As to their pretended wisdom, I answer with the same *Lactantius* * ; *All the wisdom of man consists in this alone, To know and worship God: this is our doctrine, this is our opinion, and this, with as loud a voice as I can, I testify, profess and proclaim. This is what all the philosophers, during their whole life, sought, but could never find out, comprehend, nor attain to; because they either retained a corrupt religion, or had none at all. Let them all then be gone, who do not instruct, but disturb human life. How can they teach others, who are not instructed themselves? How can they heal the sick or guide the blind?* I have translated these passages more fully, because they shew the wickedness of *Paganism*, and the reasonings of the *primitive Christians* against it, which is what I proposed in this chapter. To what we have offered from *Lactantius*, may be added, How can they be counted wise, who worshipped stocks and stones, the work of their own hands ; or such a rabble of filthy gods, and that in such a vile, cruel manner, like men void of common reason? Who suffered the vices of their deities to be described by their poets, acted by their players, drawn to life by their painters, whom they rewarded for their pains, as if they designed to instruct youth in vice? Who wasted such masses of treasure in buildings, feasts, profane shews ; who gave way to men to murder themselves on all occasions, yea, exhorted them to it? Who by sword-fighters and wild-beasts devoured so many millions of people, as might have served to enlarge or preserve their empire? Finally, how can they be counted wise, who professing

to

* De falsa Sapientia, lib.3. cap.30. pag.290. Edit. Paris 1545.

to train up their citizens to a military course of life, yet suffered them to wallow in all kinds of luxury?

As to the pretended fortitude of the *Romans*, be that as it will, it makes not their religion the better: but even as to that fortitude, whereby they subdued a great part of the then known world, many of their own writers ascribe this success to fortune, tho' we may more justly ascribe it to the Providence of God; who, for effectuating his own purposes, probably unknown to them, rather than for any extraordinary merit in them, conferred on them the empire of the world. The Emperor *Augustus* settled an universal peace in the empire, then the *Prince of Peace* was born: Divine Providence might bring the world under the *Roman* Government, subject to their laws, and acquainted with their language, that the Gospel might have an easier course, than if the world had been parcell'd out in little kingdoms; yea, when the Emperors became Christians, the propagation of the kingdom of Christ, and the establishment of the Church, might be more easily accomplished. But the *Romans* having no right, nor lawful title to those nations they subdued, we cannot justly call their strength in conquering them *Fortitude*; take away the justice of the cause, what is the acquisition of kingdoms but a great robbery? unless we should say, the killing or robbing of one man is a sin, but of many a virtue. *Galgacus* our countryman, says of the *Romans* *, *Robbers of the world they are; after they have laid all places waste, so as they have no more land to subdue, they search over the sea; if the enemy be rich, their covetousness invites to invade him; if poor, their ambition: so as neither east nor west can satisfy their insatiable appetite. They covet the riches and poverty of all places; they rob, kill and steal to enlarge their empire, and when they have turned the country to a desert, then they say, 'Tis peace. Lactantius* says †, *They account the overthrow of cities and states their greatest glory; they cannot endure the publick tranquillity, they rob and*
spoil,

* Apud Tacitum in vita Agricolaë, Operum pag. m. 671.

† De falsa Religione, lib. 1. cap. 18. pag. 76.

spoil, and insolently offering injuries violate the league of human society, that they may have an enemy, whom they more wickedly destroy than they have unjustly provoked. After all, the Christians in suffering for religion with an undaunted mind, shew'd more true fortitude, than ever the Romans, or than all the Heathens in the world.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Propagation of Christianity, and Overthrow of Paganism, from the fifth to the fifteenth Century.

WE have seen the wickedness and folly of paganism in the former chapter, now we proceed with the history of its overthrow, and the enlarging of the kingdom of Christ over the world. This we have observed happily begun, when, in the third and fourth chapters of this essay, we deduced the history of the propagation of Christianity, from the beginning of the first, to the end of the fourth century; where the many great and weighty affairs upon record in those times, obliged us to be more prolix. Now we may see the propagation of our religion advanced, but the paucity of affairs relating to our subject allows us to take several centuries into one chapter.

In the beginning of the fifth century, *Honorius* emperor in the west, in the year of our Lord 401 *, granted the ground heretofore belonging to Pagan temples, and which served to no more publick use or ornament of the city, to the *Curiales* and corporations, under several clauses and conditions. Seven years after, he ordered, that the corn usually paid to the temples, should be taken away, and bestowed upon the soldiers †; that if any images were left in temples, groves or other places, they should be removed; the temples themselves, whether in cities, villages, or in
the

* Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. Tit. 10. † Ibid. Tit. 10. Lege 19.

the open fields, be converted to publick uses; those that stood within the emperor's patrimony, should be put to some convenient use; those within the possessions of private persons, to be destroyed; altars to be every where demolished; all pagan feasts, sports and solemnities to be put down; that the bishops of the several places should have power to see this done, and a severe fine set upon the heads of all judges and officers, that neglected the execution thereof. He also ordered *, that none, who were enemies to the catholick church, should bear arms within the palace, nor be nearly employed under the prince, who refused to be of the same law and religion with him; which equally struck at heathens and hereticks. This and the former law both bearing date from the consulship of *Bassus* and *Philippus*, are *Anno Dom.* 408. The next year, he banished the *Mathematici*, that is, all *Haruspices*, *Magicians*, and the rest of that divining tribe, out of *Rome* and all other cities of the empire, unless they should bring the books of their curious arts, and burn them in presence of the bishop of the place, and engage never to return to their old errors.

Theodosius the younger, who had some years before this, succeeded his father *Arcadius* in the eastern empire, did, *Anno Dom.* 416, by a law, order, that *Gentiles* polluted with the profane crime of paganism, should be incapable of bearing arms, or being admitted into the office of administrator or judge, or any other honour †. Seven years after he speaks of Pagans, as if there were none remaining; *Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus*: but if they were, the former laws should be revived against them ||. If they be taken offering execrable sacrifices to *Demons*, tho' they ought to be subjected to capital punishment, let them only be restrained by banishment and confiscation of goods. These laws bear date from the consulship of *Marinianus* and *Asclepiodotus*, which coincides with *Anno Dom.* 423. In the year 426, he once more

* Codex Theodosii, Tit. 5. Lege 42. —

† Ibid. Lib. 16. Tit. 10. Lege 21. || Ibid. Legibus 22, 23.

more forbid all pagan oblations * and sacrifices, with all their rites and mysteries; and if any of their temples, chapels or consecrated places were yet standing, the magistrate should strip them of their superstitious use, by placing a cross upon them; and, if any were found guilty to have sacrificed, or to have contravened this law, before a competent judge, he should forfeit his life. This, it seems, was a parting blow; nor do we meet with any thing further, concerning these matters, in the imperial laws. The nations which we find converted after this, were for the most part without the empire, or barbarous people, who had over-run and dismembred it. Now, by the light of the Word of God, accompanied by the power of his Spirit, the evidence of the Christian Religion was so plainly discovered, and so well supported by the imperial laws, that heathenism dwindled into nothing; and that little that was left, crept into holes and corners, to hide its head, as had been foretold by the prophet *Isaiab*, ii. 18,——22.

Tho' the church, in this age laboured under many evils, by the increase of error, schism and division, yet we find some heathen nations added to the church, and converted to Christianity. *Socrates* gives the following account of the conversion of the *Burgundians*: he says †, “ There is a barbarous nation living beyond the
 “ *Rhine*, called the *Burgundians*, they lead a rustick
 “ life, working in wood, by which they gain their
 “ bread; the *Huns* make frequent incursions into their
 “ country, laying it waste, and killing many people.
 “ In these circumstances they don't seek the help of
 “ man, but resolve to betake themselves to the pro-
 “ tection of some god or other. Being informed, that
 “ the God whom the *Romans* worshipped, does assist
 “ those who trust in him, they with one consent de-
 “ termine to believe on Christ. Thus resolved, they
 “ come to a city of *Gaul*, asking the bishop to admit
 “ them to baptism, who orders them to fast seven
 “ days,

* Codex Theodosii, Lege 25.

† Socrates Hist. Eccles. lib. 7. cap. 30.

“ days, and be instructed in the faith, and upon the
 “ eighth day he baptizes and dismisseth them. This
 “ being done, they conceive good hopes of overcom-
 “ ing their tyrannical oppressors ; nor are they disap-
 “ pointed, for *Uptarus* king of the *Huns*, having kil-
 “ led himself by excess and gluttony, the *Burgundians*
 “ observing their enemies without a general, attack
 “ them, and tho’ inferior in number, being but three
 “ thousand against twenty thousand, yet they came
 “ off conquerors ; and from that time, they with
 “ great zeal and chearfulness, embraced and pro-
 “ fessed Christianity.” This, according to *Socrates*,
 was in the thirteenth consulship of *Theodosius*, and third
 of *Valentinian*, that is, *Anno Dom.* 430.

In this century *Palladius* was sent by the bishop of
Rome to the *Scots*, who believed on Christ, says *Pros-
 per* * ; there was a Christian church with us in *Scotland*,
 two hundred years before his coming : for *Tertullian*,
 who wrote about the end of the second century, says †,
 “ Those places of *Britain* that were inaccessible to the
 “ *Roman* armies, have yielded subjection unto Christ.”
 Our ‡ Historians assert, *That King Donald was the first of
 the Scottish Kings who embraced Christianity ; which was
 received here by authority, about the 187th year of the
 Christian Æra : but tho’ he and many of his nobles did
 make profession thereof, they could not wholly extirpate
 Heathenism.*

The main design of *Palladius*’s mission, was to op-
 pose *Pelagianism*, which had crept in here, tho’ he is
 also said to have converted some to the Christian
 Faith.

St. Patrick, a *Scots* man, is said by *Sigebert* to have
 converted *Ireland* to Christianity ||, about the year 432.
 No doubt, the conversion of these *Irish* natives, was a
 matter

* *Prosperi Chronicon* ad annum 434. fol. 92. ad Scotos in Christum
 credentes ordinatur a papa Celestino Palladius, & primus episcopus
 mittitur.

† *Adversus Judæos*, cap. 7. operum pag. 98.

‡ *Boethius*, *Buchanani Historia*, pag. 115.

|| *Sigebert* ad annum 432.

matter of great difficulty, since, as *Jerome* tells us †, *They had no such thing as any property in marriage, but as if they had been governed by Plato's commonwealth, or Cato's extravagance, there was a perfect community of women among them, their inclination being under no better regulation in these matters, than those of the brutes.* He says, *He had seen these Irish feed upon human flesh in Gaul, and notwithstanding the country was sufficiently stocked with mutton, yet if they could surprize a shepherd, and rob him of his haunches, or cut off a woman's breasts, they used to make a meal on't, and think themselves extraordinarily regaled.* The writers of *St. Patrick's* life, *Probus, Jocelin, Geraldus, Cambrensis*, and others, report a great many miracles performed by him, which I shall not trouble my reader with ; all that I remark concerning his life is, That he was born at *Kilpatrick*, in our country, nine miles from *Glasgow* ; he became a disciple to *St. Martin of Tours*, his uncle by the mother's side || : upon the death of *Palladius*, he was sent to *Ireland*, with twenty clergymen, all to be employed in the same work of converting that country ; he is said to have founded a church at *Ardmagh* in *Ulster*, *Anno Dom. 445*, and another at *Dublin* in *Leinster*, and many more, (*Nennius* makes them three hundred and sixty five ;) and to have laboured sixty years in the conversion of the natives, and to have died when very old.

In the same age, the conversion of *Clovis* king of *France* is very remarkable. From his infancy he was a pagan idolater, but his wife *Clotildis* was a pious, good woman ; she often exhorted the king her husband to leave his heathenish idolatry, and embrace the truth of the Christian Religion, but without success ; till he being engaged in a battle against the *Germans*, his army put to the worst, and in great distress, destitute of human help, he lifts his hands to heaven and prays, *O Lord Jesus, whom my wife Clotildis adores, I most earnestly*

† Hieronymus adversus Jovin. lib. 2. See Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, vol. 1. pag. 51.

|| Spanhemii Hist. Christiana in Folio, Col 959.

earnestly implore thy help, and if thou shalt make me conquer in this battel, thou shalt be my God; I'll believe in thy name, I'll worship and serve thee: I'll attend thy ordinances, and be baptized in thy name. As soon as he had prayed thus, the *Alemanni* or *Germans* were put to flight; the king enjoy'd a great victory; which he having obtained by the strength of Christ, he calls for *Rhemigius* bishop of *Rheims*, and was baptized, with many of his subjects, on the eve of *Christmas*, 496*, in the fifteenth year of his reign. This is at large related by *Gregory of Tours*†, and by *Hincmarus* in the life of *Rhemigius* of *Rheims*, and from them, by many others. More than three thousand *Franks* are said to have been converted with their king, and two of his sisters, *Abolseda*, who from a *Gentile* became a Christian, and *Landechildis*, who from an *Arian* turned Catholick. Hence, as *Spanheim* conceives||, the kings of *France* are called the eldest sons of the church, because, first of all the kings in the West, they embraced Christianity as free of *Arianism*; tho' I nothing doubt, but there were Christian kings in the West before his time: and tho' he and his successors get the title of the first Christian king by the church of *Rome*, yet there were Christian churches in *Gaul* before him, and Christian bishops, as *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, *Paulinus* of *Triers*, and *Martin* of *Tours*, in the fourth century, and many councils held there, after that of *Arles* in 314; as the ecclesiastick annals, tomes of councils, and the writings of *Hilary*, *Sulpicius Severus*, *Ausonius*, *Gregory of Tours*, and others, do declare.

I proceed now to the sixth Century, tho' both in this and the former, paganism did dwindle into nothing, and there were few that professed it in the whole *Roman* Empire; yet we find some men of learning still addicted to

* *Spanhemii Hist. Christiana*, col. 960.

† *Historia Francorum*, lib. 2. cap. 30, 31. Vide *Cent. Magdeb.* vol. 2. cent. 5. cap. 2. pag. 13.

Sp anheim. ubi supra, col. 961;

to it, as *Proclus* a *Platonick* philosopher and eminent mathematician; 'tis said, when *Vitalian* laid siege to *Constantinople*, he burned his ships with great brazen looking-glasses, as *Archimedes* had done with the *Roman* ships at *Syracuse*: he writ against the Christian Religion. *Priscian* a grammarian, who flourished under the emperor *Justinian*, at *Constantinople*: *Trebonius* a lawyer, but a wicked pagan, and very covetous*: and *Anatolius*, of whom *Evagrius* says, *That tho' he was an obscure man, yet was advanced to the government in Antioch, by Gregory the bishop; but being found to sacrifice to idols, and further examined, he was discovered to be a vile charmer, and sent to Constantinople, where he was killed by wild-beasts, on the theatre, and his body being hung up, was devoured by wolves* †. If the historians *Procopius* and *Agathius* were Christians or not, is counted by the learned *Spanheim* very dubious ‡.

Notwithstanding these bad men, (indeed there are too many such in every age) yet the Church was then fully planted with bishops and pastors, whose names we may find in the great collection of councils made by *Binnius* and others; and in their acclamations and subscriptions to the canons of these councils; and large catalogues of them are gathered by the *Magdeburgick Centuriators*, so as it seems not necessary here to give a rehearsal of them.

But my design obliges me to give account of the *Propagation of Christianity* among pagan nations, tho' I am not to enlarge upon each of them, when the records, concerning their *conversion*, are so very short. It is reported, that in this century, *Almundurus* a prince of the *Saracens* was converted by *Severus* a monk ||; that *Zathus* a prince of the *Colchians*, embraced Christianity; he came to *Constantinople*, and desired baptism, with some of his subjects, about the year 522; the emperor *Justin* receiv'd him kindly, and married him to a noble virgin; which occasioned some difference betwixt the

* Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte prima, pag. 333.—

† Evagrii Hist. Eccl. lib. 5 cap. 18. ‡ Hist. Christiana, col. 1168.

|| Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte prima, pag. 318. & 335.

the *Roman* and *Persian* emperors. *Brudeus* a king of the *Picts* in our country, was converted by the famous *Columba*, who kept his monastery at *Icolmkil* *.

Adad king of *Ethiopia*, being engaged in a dangerous war with the king of the *Homerites*, vowed, *that if he were conqueror, he would embrace the Christian Religion*. Having obtain'd the victory, taken *Damianus* king of the *Homerites* prisoner, and reduced much of his country, he sent embassadors to the emperor *Justinian*, about the year 541, praying to send him bishops and teachers, to instruct himself and his people in the *Christian Faith*, and turn them from idolatry. In answer to this petition, the emperor sent him *Mansionarius*, a venerable man, and some others, who planted the *Christian Religion* in his country; that is, in *Ethiopia* bordering upon *India*, for *Nicephorus Calistus* † calls him an *Indian* king.

Some other nations are also recorded to have renounced *Idolatry*, and embraced *Christianity* in this century; as the *Heruli*, of whom *Evagrius* reports, *that they passed the river Danube, in the reign of the emperor Anastasius, and were afterwards kindly treated by Justinian, who gave them a great sum of money, and they all turned Christians, and embraced a more mild and regular course of Life* ‖. This he hath from *Procopius*, who tells the same story more fully, saying ‡, “ The *Herulians*,
“ formerly inhabiting beyond the *Ister*, that is, the
“ *Danube*, served many Gods, holding it no impiety
“ to appease them with human sacrifices: They had
“ laws differing from other men; when their people
“ grew sick and aged, not like to live, they entreated
“ their kindred to put them out of the world; when
“ an *Herulian* died, his wife, if she would be thought
“ virtuous, was to kill herself over her husband's tomb,
“ otherwise she was esteemed infamous, and an enemy
“ to her husband's kindred——When *Justinian* came
“ to the empire, he gave them a good country to live

F 2

“ in,

* Usserii Antiq. Ecclesiarum Britan. page 961. Dr. Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Life of *Columba*.

† Hist. Eccl. lib. 17. cap. 36.

‖ Evagrius, lib. 4. cap. 20.

‡ De Bello Gothico, lib. 2. cap. 11. page 52.

“ in, and the possession of goods ; and making them
 “ his allies, he persuaded them to be *Christians*.” Upon
 this they became more civil, and applied themselves to
 the laws of the *Christian Religion*, serving the *Romans* as
 auxiliaries: “ But still, says our author, they are false
 “ to us, and covetous, thinking no shame to wrong
 “ their neighbours.”

The *Abasgi*, a people in *Scythia*, about the same time
 embraced the Christian Religion ; the emperor *Justinian*
 sent one *Euphantas* an eunuch, a countryman of
 their own, to warn them, not to make any incision
 upon their bodies ; he caused to be erected a church to
 the virgin *Mary* among them, and gave them priests to
 instruct them more fully in the doctrine of the Christian
 Religion*. *Procopius*, whom we have lately named,
 senator and prefect in *Constantinople*, and secretary to *Be-*
lisarius, in his wars, gives the following account of
 these *Abasgi*: “ Their country, says he †, lies beyond
 “ *Apfilia*, near the *Caucasian* mountains ; they were
 “ formerly subject to the *Lazians*, and had princes of
 “ their own nation ; they did worship, till my time,
 “ groves and woods, and in a barbarous simplicity
 “ esteemed trees to be Gods ; they suffered much from
 “ the covetousness of their princes, who took violently
 “ from the parents such children as were beautiful,
 “ made them eunuchs, and then sold them to the *Ro-*
 “ *mans* at a great price, killing the fathers, lest they
 “ might revenge the abuse done to their children ; and
 “ thus the poor wretches were ruined, by the fatal
 “ handsomeness of their own off-spring : hence most of
 “ the eunuchs in the *Imperial* palace were *Abasgians*.
 “ But in the reign of *Justinian*, all this has been changed
 “ to advantage ; they have receiv’d the *Christian Re-*
 “ *ligion*, and the emperor sent *Euphantas* an eunuch,
 “ expressly to admonish their princes, no more to
 “ force away the virility of human nature with iron.
 “ Upon this injunction, the *Abasgians* abandoned that
 “ practice, which made it formerly their great fear, to
 “ be

* Evagrius, lib. 4. cap. 22.

† De Bello Gothico, lib. 11. cap. 2. pag. mihi 121, 122.

“ be fathers to handsome sons. The emperor also built
 “ for them a church, dedicated to the mother of God ;
 “ appointed them priests to instruct them in the *Chri-*
stian Rites ; and they deposed their princes, and be-
 “ came a free state.” Some of the inhabitants of
 greater *Armenia*, called afterward *Pesarmenia*, who had
 been subject to the *Persian* Idolaters, who oppressed
 them because they were Christians, revolted from the
Persians, and submitted to *Justin* the Christian empe-
 ror, who protected them in the free exercise of their
 religion *.

Notwithstanding this progress Christianity made,
 ’tis to be acknowledged, the Christians in this age suf-
 fered very hard things. *Chosroes* king of *Persia*, whose
 country was then heathen, worshipping the sun †, broke
 his league with the emperor *Justinian*, and invaded *Asia*
 with a great army ||: the city *Hierapolis* gave him two
 thousand pound weight of silver, which amounts to
 five thousand, two hundred and fifty pounds sterling,
 in our money, to be free of his oppression. *Berrhæa*
 gave him the like sum, and because they could give him
 no more, he took and ransacked their city, carrying off
 many of the inhabitants prisoners. He assaulted the
 great city *Antioch*, and carried it by storm, where he
 put many of the citizens to the sword, made the re-
 mainder slaves, plundered the city of its riches, and
 then set it on flames. He also exacted great sums from
 the towns of *Apamæa*, *Edeffa*, and several others. In
Europe and *Africa*, the Christians suffered very much,
 by the inundation and wars of the barbarous nations.
 But ’tis not my design, here to give account of the suf-
 ferings of Christians, nor of the decay of Christianity, but
 rather of its progress and success over heathenish infidelity.

If we go upon the conversion of the *English Saxons* in
 this century, I conceive it will be proper to look a little
 backward, and remark, that *Britain* is said to have been
 early converted to Christianity ; some conceive by the

* Evagrius, lib. 5. cap. 7.

† See Chap. 2. of the *Persian* Idolatry.

|| Procopius de Bello Persico, lib. 2. cap. 4. & sequentibus.

Apostle *Paul*, because *Clemens* his cotemporary, in his excellent epistle to the *Corinthians*, says *, *This Apostle preached the Gospel both in the East and West; he taught righteousness to the whole world, and went to the utmost bounds of the West*, ἐπὶ τὸ τελευτᾶ τῆς οὐσσεως. *Theodoret* says †, *That Paul brought salvation to the isles of the sea, that lie in the ocean; and, that after his release at Rome, he went to Spain, and from thence carried the light of the Gospel to other nations* ||. And it appears more likely, that he should then travel into these Western parts, than return back into the East, where he had taken so much pains to spread the Gospel before. And *Jerome* says ‡, *That having been in Spain, he went from one ocean to another, imitating the motion and course of the sun of righteousness, of whom 'tis said, his going forth is from the end of heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it; his diligence in preaching extended as far as the earth itself; he preached the Gospel in the Western parts.* Bishop *Stillingfleet* hath fairly made it out **, that this Apostle had leisure and opportunity enough to have come hither, and that here was encouragement enough for him to come. But whosoever was the first publisher of the Christian Religion in this land, we have reason to take notice of it as a singular mercy, that it came hither so soon: especially, since the *Britons*, before they were civilized by the Gospel, were very rude and barbarous; they offered up human sacrifices. *Gildas* tells us, *That their idols were more numerous than those of Egypt, and strangely featured, and that some of them continued in his days; and their manners were most impure.* *Julius Cæsar*, as *Tacitus* observes, rather shew'd this country to the *Romans*, than subdued it. In the time of *Augustus*, in whose reign our Saviour was born, the *Britons* sent presents to the Capitol; but no *Roman* garrisons or colonies were fixed here, nor magistrates and jurisdictions settled, as
in

* *Clementis Romani Epistola*, pag. m. 14.

† *Theodoret*, Tom. 1. in *Psalm*. 116. pag. 870.

|| In 2 *Timothy* 4. 17.

‡ In *Amos*, cap. 5. *Operum* Tom. 6. fol. m. 43.

** *Origines Britannicæ*, pag. 39; &c.

in other parts of the empire. But the emperor *Claudius* came to that part of *Britain*, now called *England*, in person, and reduced the country into the form of a province, under *A. Plautius* his lieutenant; from that time the country became *Roman*. While things were in this state, there was the less danger of opposition in attempting to spread *Christianity*: The *British* captives at *Rome*, who were converts, would, in all probability, forward the christianizing their native country. And if *Claudia*, the wife of *Pudens* the *Roman* senator, was she that was spoken of by *St. Paul*, and *Pomponia Græcina*, wife to *A. Plautius* the lieutenant, was also a *Christian*, as is most likely from the character given of her by *Tacitus*; their religion could not but incline them therein, to give what encouragement and assistance they were able *.

We have not many ancient writers remaining, to give us light concerning the state of *Christianity* among the ancient *Britons*. *Gildas*, called the *Wise*, is the most ancient author, according to the learned *Dr. Cave* †; he was born in the year 520, and wrote in 581. He tells us ‖, *That tho' the precepts of Christ were received but lukewarmly of the inhabitants, yet they remained intirely with some, less sincerely with others, until the nine years of persecution under Dioclesian*. It deserves to be lamented, that we have so few remains of the first *Christians* in this island. *Gildas* gives the plain reason of it; *The monuments, says he, of our country, or writings, if theré were any, appear not; they were either burnt by the fire of enemies, or transported far off by our banished countrymen*.

Much hath been said of one king *Lucius*, who is represented as the first *Christian Prince* that ever reigned. *Jeremy Collier* ‡ conceives, he governed in those parts afterwards called *Surrey* and *Sussex*: he is said to have

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been

* *Dr. Calamy's Sermon on Isaiah 66. 18, 19. or God's Concern for his Glory in the British Isles, page 12, 13.*

† *Chartophylax, pag. 117.*

‖ *Gildas de Excidio Britannia, in Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. 3. Col. 580.*

‡ *Eccl. History of Britain, Vol. I. page 12.*

72 *Propagation of Christianity.* Cent. VI.

been converted to *Christianity* about the year of our Lord 167. The learned primate Dr. *Usher* * gives twenty-three different opinions concerning the time ; but in that excellent person's book, on the antiquities of the *British* churches, there is a great deal of confusion, by reason he reports what every author says, without distinguishing what is true or false. They who desire to be further satisfied upon this point, may consult the learned *Frederic Spanheim* †, who, in a peculiar dissertation, proves, that there is much of the fable in this story, even as reported by Dr. *Usher*, *Stillingfleet*, and others. The venerable *Bede*, who flourished in the eighth century, is the first who has any account thereof. To be sure, neither *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, *Sulpitius Severus*, *Theodoret*, *Prosper*, *Orosius*, nor *Cassiodorus*, tho' inquisitive authors, who report what they knew concerning the propagation of the Christian Religion ; nor even *Gildas*, tho' a *British* man, who wrote in the sixth century, nor any other author we know of, before the eighth century, takes any notice of it. Besides, those monkish and other authors who report it after *Bede*, do so far differ among themselves concerning the time of *Lucius's* conversion ; the *Burton* annals placing it *A. D.* 137, the last of the emperor *Adrian*, and *John Harding* reckons it in the year 190 ‖, in the reign of *Commodus*: here is fifty-three years distance. Neither do they better agree, as to the person by whom he was converted, nor as to the place where he reigned, whether in the North or South parts of the isle, or over the whole ; nor concerning any other circumstance of the story : which renders the whole of it very dubious, if not fabulous. That part of the story, *That he sent eminent persons to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, praying, that by his consent he might be baptized, and admitted within the church ; and brought doctors and teachers from Rome to instruct his people ;* is like

* De Britannicarum Eccl. Primordiis, pag. 36. & seq.

† Spanhemii filii, Operum Tom. 2. pag. 390—399.

‖ Usher ubi supra.

like a great many fables of that kind, that have been advanced to aggrandize the pope's authority.

Whatever is said of king *Lucius's* conversion, it appears there was a Christian Church in *Britain* some ages before the *Saxon* conquest; indeed a great part of the inhabitants continued pagans, yet our holy religion made a progress. As it got ground, the temples of their ancient idols were some of them destroy'd, and others of them dedicated to the true and living God. That which was the last of the ten persecutions under the *Roman* emperors, seems to have been the first that affected this island. But in that general calamity, in the reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, about the year 303, the *Christians* here were very great sufferers. 'Tis said, that *Maximian* almost rooted out the Christian Religion from *Britain*, and that they who suffered martyrdom were almost without number. *Gildas* tells us*, "That
 " their churches were thrown down, and all the books
 " of holy scriptures that could be found were burnt in
 " the streets, and the chosen priests of the flock of our
 " Lord, together with the innocent sheep, murdered :
 " so as in some parts of the province, no footsteps of
 " the Christian Religion did appear. How many did
 " then flee, how many were destroy'd, how many different kinds of death some did endure, how great was
 " the ruin of apostates, how glorious the crowns of
 " martyrdom, ecclesiastical history does declare." St. *Alban* of *Verulam*, and *Aaron*, and *Julius* of *Carlisle*, with many others of both sexes, sealed their testimony with their blood. But when this storm was over, which did not last much above a year, the *Christians* here, as well as in other parts, fled out of the woods, and dens, and caves, where they had hid themselves, and rebuilt their demolished churches, and flourished to a great degree both in peace and unity. They were much favoured by *Constantius* the father of *Constantine*, who continued for the latter part of his life in *Britain*, and would suffer no man to die for his religion in his dominions. Here also *Constantine* himself appeared to favour

* De Excidio Britanniae ubi supra, Col. 582.

your *Christianity*, which 'tis not likely he would have done publickly, had not a good part of his army been of that religion. And upon his advancement to the imperial throne, it is not to be wondred at, if more splendour attended *Christianity*, as it was here professed, than had been known before. But I cannot discern sufficient ground to apprehend, that, from the beginning, churches or places of worship were so nobly adorned, or Church-Government so modelled in this island, as some time after; or that the prelati- cal form of government was any part of the glory that was at first declared in this island. *Gildas*, the most ancient *British* writer extant, in his account of the state of *Britain*, as to ecclesiastical matters in former times, mentions priests, and clerks or doctors, but takes not the least notice of bishops advanced above priests, with any such supereminence as was afterward common, till he comes to speak of times in which things had taken another turn. But I leave this controversy to others*, since it falls not directly within my province. Bishop *Stillingfleet* frankly owns †, *That, by the loss of the records of the British churches, we cannot draw down the succession of bishops from the Apostles time, but we have reason to presume such a succession.* Others are of a contrary opinion. Indeed, we do not meet with any distinct account of bishops in *Britain*, till the coming of *St. Germanus* and his companions out of *Gaul*, under the pretence of helping their neighbours against the *Pelagians*, about the year of *Christ*, 440. Bishop *Stillingfleet* takes notice of several good offices they did to the *British* churches, by their coming hither; as, that they instituted schools of learning among the *Britons*, and introduced the *Gallican* Liturgy ||; to which it may be added, that they made the *Britons*, who before kept to their ancient simplicity, more conformable to the *Gallican* churches, with respect to episcopal government. For the anonymous author
of

* See Dr. *Calamy's* Sermon, God's Concern for his Glory in the *British* Isles, pag. 16, &c. with marginal Notes.

† *Origines Britannicæ*, pag. 77.

|| *Ibid.* pag. 200, &c. —

of the chronicle in *Leland*, says *, that *Germanus* and *Lupus* consecrated bishops in several parts of *England*. So much concerning the state of *Christianity* in *Britain* before the *Saxon* conquest.

But in the year 450, king *Vortigern* being vexed with the incursions and wars of the *Scots* and *Picts*, called in the assistance of the *Saxons*, which *Gildas* calls the most downright folly and madness. These *Saxons* easily complied with the invitation ; they embarked their forces under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horfa*, and landed in the isle of *Thanet*, marched northward, and defeated their enemy. Upon the news of this victory, their countrymen in *Germany* equipt more vessels, and put a greater number of troops on board than before ; which, at their landing, joined the first body, and carried all before them. The *Britons* gave them a division of the country, upon condition, they should be ready to appear in the field against the common enemy. In a few years, these new guests making peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, then the common enemy, made war upon the *Britons* themselves, which continued many years ; the *Saxons* being victorious, over-run the whole country with fire and sword, and set it a blazing from the one end to the other. This desolation brought on by the heathens, was a judgment upon the wickedness of the natives. *Gildas* † and *Beda* ‖ compare it to the burning of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*. The former of these authors applies to this occasion, *Psalms* lxxiv. 7. *They have cast fire into thy sanctuary, they have defiled, by casting down the dwelling-place of thy name to the ground.* And *Psalms* lxxix. 1. *O God, the heathen have come into thy inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled, &c.* In short, there was nothing but slaughter, flame and ruin ; publick and private buildings, palaces and churches, were burned down without distinction, priests were murdered upon the altars, bishops and people were exposed to fire and sword, neither was there any to bury them.

* *Monastric. Angl.* Vol. III. pag. 188.

† *De Excidio Britanniae* in *Bibl. patr.* Tom. 3. Col. 587.

‖ *Eccl. Hist. Gentis Anglorum*, lib. 1. cap. 15. fol. mihi 17.

them. Some retired to the mountains, but even these were oft cut in pieces ; others by famine were forced to surrender, and sell their liberty for bread ; some transported themselves to foreign countries, others remaining at home, fled to the mountains, woods, and inaccessible places, and there led a poor anxious life.

Tho' the *Britons* made some noble attempts to recover their liberty, yet the *Saxons* gained by degrees upon the *Creed* as well as the *Country*, (I use the words of * *Jeremy Collier*) insomuch, as at last *Heathenism* was the prevailing religion, and kept pace with the *Saxon* conquest, yea, almost overspread the whole land ; the church lost ground every where, and was driven as it were to a corner, and no where was visible to any degree, excepting in *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and *Cumberland* ; for in these parts the *Britons* had still some footing.

When matters were come to this pass, *Ethelbert*, the fifth king of the *Saxon* race reigned in *Kent*, and in the South east parts of *England* ; he and his subjects were the first among the *Saxons* that were converted to the *Christian Faith*. Before his conversion he married a Christian princess, *Bertha*, daughter to the king of *France*, who, by contract, was to have the free exercise of her religion, under the care of *Letardus* a bishop, sent by her parents with her ; she did contribute very much to the conversion of the king her husband, but the main occasion of it, under divine providence, is said to have been thus. It was a custom among the *Northumbrians* to sell their children for a small matter in a foreign country ; it happened two comely youths being brought thence to *Rome*, *Gregory*, Archdeacon of that city, had a view of them, who admiring their good countenance, and pitying their condition, enquired what they were ; and being answered, they were *Angli*, of the province of *Deira*, under *Alla* king of *Northumberland*, he brake out into this allusion, *That the Angli, so like Angels, should be snatched out of Deira, that is, from the wrath of God, to sing Allelujah*. Upon this, he obtained a licence from the pope *Benedict* to come and preach there among

among the *Saxons*, but was prevented by his succession to the papal see ; till being admonished, as *Bede* says, by inspiration, he appointed *Austin*, and other zealous monks with him, to come over and preach the Gospel in *England*. They came about forty in number, and landed in the isle of *Thanet* *, about the year of our Lord 596, with some of the *French* nation, whom they took along with them as interpreters. *Austin* sent to king *Ethelbert*, to offer him heaven and eternal happiness, by another God than the *Saxons* knew : The king ordered them necessities, and after some days came to the isle, where *Austin* preached to him, and to all the assembly, the things of salvation, which he heard attentively. The king himself being converted, contributed much to the conversion of his people ; he allowed *Austine* and his monks to reside at *Canterbury*, where they spent their lives in devotion and acts of piety. *Austin* was consecrated first bishop of *Canterbury*, a famous church was built there, as also that of *St. Paul* at *London*, and another dedicated to *St. Andrew* at *Rochester*.

In *Ireland*, after the death of *St. Patrick*, the Christian Church was under an eclipse ; but *Finian* came and preached there thirty years, and did contribute very much to restore the churches that had been formerly neglected †. *Constantine* and *Columba* preached the Gospel both to the *Scots* and *Picts* ‖. *Cantyre* was converted by *Constantine* ; there he died a martyr, and is buried at *Govan* upon *Clyde*, a monastery which he himself founded.

The planting of *Christianity* among the *English-Saxons*, that was begun in the sixth, was advanced in the seventh century. *Austin* desired the bishop of *Rome* to furnish him with some assistants ; Pope *Gregory*, in compliance with his request, sent *Melitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, *Ruffinianus*, and some others with them, with church-

* *Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Gentis Anglorum*, lib. 1. cap. 25. *Polydore Virgil Hist. Angliæ*, lib. 4. pag. 154. & seq.

† *Usserii Antiquitates*, pag. 590.

‖ *Vide Usserium de Britan. Eccl. Primordiis*, pag. 695.

church-plate, vestments, reliques and habits for the clergy, books, and what was requisite for the service of religion*. Also acquainting *Austin*, that he had sent him a *Pall*, as a mark of his esteem, for the great service he had done in converting the *English*, and directs him to erect twelve bishopricks in his province, and that the bishop of *London* receive a *Pall* from the apostolick see. As for *York*, he orders him to erect a bishoprick there, leaving the person to his choice; adding withal, that if it should please God, that city and the neighbouring country should turn Christian, he was to form it into a province, with twelve bishops under the metropolitan of *York*, to whom the pope himself designed to send a pall, with this reservation, *That he shall be subject to you, my dear brother*. In the answer Pope *Gregory* sent to several questions proposed by *Austin*, he differs from the present doctrine of the church of *Rome*; as, in allowing the clergy, if they want the gift of continence, to marry†: he also writes to king *Ethelbert*, exhorting him to promote Christianity, and extirpate idolatry, encouraging him in that work by the example of *Constantine the Great*, and sends him gifts as a mark of his esteem. He wrote also to queen *Bertha*, to exhort the king her husband to quicken his zeal in the cause of *Christianity*, encouraging her so to do, by the example of *Hellena* the mother of *Constantine*‖; and sends several other letters and directions to *Austin*, which are to be found in *Bede*. *Austin* endeavoured, as far as he could, to establish the authority of the Church of *Rome* in *England*, which was disowned by the *British* clergy of *Wales*, as appears by a dispute between them on the edge of *Worcestershire*, about some points of religion, as, that they observe *Easter*, and celebrate *Baptism* according to the rites of the church of *Rome*‡: Where *Austin* demeaning himself haughtily to the *Welch* and

* *Beda* Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 29.

† *Beda* Hist. Eccl. cap. 27. fol. m. 30.

‖ *Ibid.* cap. 32. *Greg.* Epist. lib. 9. epist. 59. *Operum* Tom. 2. fol. 249.

‡ *Ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 2.

and Scots, *Dinnoth* abbot of *Bangor* tells him, *That they owned no other subjection to the pope of Rome, but what they were bound to by the Christian duties of love and charity.* *Austin* was not able to gain that party to comply with his measures; he died in the year 604, and was buried at *Canterbury* *. *Laurentius* is ordained his successor. King *Ethelbert*, the first Christian prince of the *Saxon* race, also departed this life in the year of our Lord 616, having reigned 56 years.

His son *Eadbald* succeeded, who did not profess himself a Christian, but continued in idolatry, and lived in incestuous mixtures with his father's wife †: his influence made many of his subjects revolt to Paganism ||. This calamity was increased by the death of *Sebert* king of the *East-Saxons*, who was a Christian; he left his dominions to his three sons, but was not so happy as to recover them from idolatry. They declared themselves more openly in favour of Paganism after his death, and gave their subjects as much liberty to practise idolatry as they pleased; which so far discouraged *Melitus* and *Justus*, that they embarked for *France*, but soon returned. Upon the death of *Laurentius*, *Melitus* was ordained bishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 619, and *Justus* succeeded him in the year 624. About this time the *English-Saxons*, in the kingdom of *Northumberland*, were converted, by the preaching of *Paulinus*. The occasion of this happy revolution was, *Edwin*, king of that country, courted *Edelburga*, or *Tate*, daughter to the late king *Ethelbert*, and sent ambassadors for this purpose to *Eadbald* her brother, who told them, *That it was not lawful for a Christian to marry with a Pagan, without dishonour to God, and profaning her Religion.* *Edwin* receiving this answer, promised not to act any thing against the Religion the princess professed; she and all her retinue, both priests and servants, should have free liberty to serve God as they thought fit; yea, he

* Bedæ Hist. Eccl. cap. 3.

† Ibid. Lib. 2. cap. 5.

|| Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. 1. Pag. 80, and following.

he might probably be of the same Religion himself, provided upon enquiry it was found to be a holier institution, and more suitable to the worship of God than his own. This satisfaction being given, the princess was contracted to king *Edwin*, and *Paulinus* was ordained bishop by *Justus* in the year of our Lord 625, to go with the princess *Edelburga*, to take care, that neither she, nor any of her family should relapse into Paganism, to which they might be tempted by the evil example of a heathenish court.

Paulinus, at his coming to *Northumberland*, used his utmost endeavours to convert the pagans, but met not with much success. The next year there happened an accident at court, which brought the king nearer to Christianity. *Guicholm* king of the *West-Saxons* practised with an assassin to murder king *Edwin*; the villain poisoned his dagger, and came into the king's presence in the character of an ambassador; drawing his dagger from under his coat, he makes a furious pass at the king: *Lilla*, a loyal subject interposed his body, and received a mortal wound; yet the thrust was made with such force, as it touched the king *: the assassin was immediately kill'd. About this time *Edwin* had a daughter born, and was persuaded, that *Paulinus's* prayers had been serviceable to the queen in her recovery; upon this he promised to renounce heathenish idolatry, and worship our Saviour, if he would preserve his life, and give his arms success against that perfidious prince, who sent the ruffian to murder him; and as a pledge for his sincerity, allowed *Paulinus* to baptize his daughter, which he did at the next *Pentecost*, with twelve more of the court. King *Edwin* marched with a considerable army against the king of the *West-Saxons*, and cut those in pieces, or took them prisoners, who had been engaged in that treacherous attempt upon his life; yet did not profess himself immediately a Christian, but renounced the worship of idols, and frequently conferred with *Paulinus* about the reasonableness of Christianity, and weighed in his own mind the weight

* Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

weight of the arguments on either side. *Boniface* bishop of *Rome* being informed of this situation of affairs, wrote a letter to king *Edwin*, to engage him to declare for Christianity, and compleatly to abandon idolatry, urging to this end some texts of scripture, as *Psalms* xcvi. 5. *Psalms* cxv. 5, — 8. 'Tis probable, the king had been informed of the authority of the scriptures before this time. The pope sent another letter to Queen *Edelburga*, exhorting her, to make use of all her interest for the conversion of the king, her husband, to set the advantage of Christianity before him, and to pray for the success of all her endeavours, that she may see the accomplishment of the words of the Apostle, *That the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife*. Both these letters are at full length recorded by *Bede*†. Notwithstanding all these endeavours *Edwin* continued still unresolved; but his memory being refreshed by a vision‡, which foretold his escape from the danger he was then engaged in, and the prosperity which afterward happened to him; the circumstances of the vision being revealed to *Paulinus*, he put the king in mind of the engagements he made in his distress, and that it was now time to perform his promise. *Collier* inclines to give credit to the truth of this vision*, since *Bede*, who relates it, was born in *Northumberland*, only fifty one years after *Edwin's* Conversion. I shall not debate the truth thereof, but I frankly own, tho' *Bede's* ecclesiastick history be very valuable, for preserving to us the most accurate account we have of the conversion of the heathen *English Saxons*, yet he has such a heap of uncouth miracles, said to be performed by monks and saints, as do surpass my belief. However, *Paulinus* so improved the story, that *Edwin* was now fully satisfied to receive the Christian Faith, but thought it proper to communicate his design to his friends, nobles and counsellors, that in case they came over to his persuasion,

† *Bede's Hist. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 10, 11.*

‡ *Ibid. cap. 12.*

* *Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. I. Pag. 84.*

suasion, they might all be baptized together. The matter being debated in council, they appeared all forward to reject pagan idolatry, to burn the idol temples, and treat them with all circumstances of contempt: particularly *Coifi* the pagan high priest, offered to execute this resolve; he mounted himself with his sword and launce upon the king's charging-horse, and caused to be burnt the chief seats of Paganism; as the temple at *Godmundighame*, near the river *Derwent*, not far from *York*, with all its appurtenances; where he polluted and destroyed those altars he himself had consecrated *. King *Edwin* declared his conversion to Christianity, and was baptized in the eleventh year of his reign, upon *Easter-day*, 627; in *St. Peter's* church at *York*, which was then of wood, hastily reared up by the king's order for that purpose; all the nobility, and many of the commons following his example. *Paulinus* was made bishop of *York*; in the six years he continued in that country, Christianity was wonderfully spread: *Osfrid* and *Eadfrid*, king *Edwin's* sons, by *Queensburg*, daughter of *Cearl* king of the *Mercians* †, were baptized with their father, as were three other children of *Edwin*, by *Edelburga*. The people of the country were so charmed with the *Christian Religion*, that *Paulinus*, attending the king and queen to one of their country houses, is said to have spent five weeks, instructing and baptizing great numbers who flocked thither.

Edwin was very zealous for the interest of Christianity, and endeavoured to propagate it further than his own dominions ||. *Eorquald* son of *Redwald* king of the *East Angles*, renounced paganism, and came into the church at *Edwin's* persuasion, but he was soon after murdered by *Richibert* a pagan. *Paulinus* crossed the river *Humber*, and travelling southward to *Lincoln*, converted *Blecca* the governor, with his family; here he built a fine church of stone, of which nothing but the walls

* Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 13.

† Bedæ Hist. Eccl. cap. 14.

|| Bedæ Hist. Eccl. cap. 15.

walls were standing, in *Bede's* time *. 'Tis also recorded, that *Eadbald* the son of *Ethelbert*, of whom we have already heard, was, a little before this time, converted to the profession of Christianity, and persuaded to abandon his unlawful marriage, and the vices of his youth †.

This prosperous state of affairs was overclouded by the death of *Edwin*, who having reigned happily seventeen years, *Caedwalla* and *Penda*, two princes who paid homage to him, broke out into open rebellion, and gave *Edwin* battle at *Hethfeld*, where his army was cut in pieces, and himself slain in the forty eighth year of his age, and in the year of our Lord 633 ‡. These conquering princes marched forward, and harassed the country: *Penda* and his troops being all pagans, no better could be expected at their hands; and as for *Caedwalla* king of the *Britons*, tho' he professed Christianity, yet such was the barbarity of his temper, that he spared neither age nor sex, but put all that came in his way, to death or torture; hoping either to ruin the *Saxons*, or make them abandon the island, for the *Britons* then had no opinion of the Christianity of the *Saxons*. *Paulinus* retired into *Kent*, with Queen *Edelburga* and her children, carrying a great deal of King *Edwin's* plate with him, where he was kindly received by *Eadbald*. *Edwin* thus falling, *Osric* and *Eanfrid* his uncle's son's succeeded: they had lived in exile among the *Scots* and *Picts*, where they had been educated and baptized Christians; but when *Eanfrid* came to *Northumberland*, he apostatized to Paganism, and fell in the first campaign. *Oswald* his brother succeeded, who kept to the engagements of his baptism: *Caedwalla* marched a numerous army against him, but was defeated and slain at *Dennisburn* §. *Oswald* had obliged all his army to fall upon their knees and pray to God for the success of their arms, before the battle

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began

*. *Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 16.*

† *Ibid. cap. 6.* ‡ *Ibid. cap. 20.*

§ *Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 1.*

began **. In order to make his subjects partake of the advantages of Christianity, he sent to *Scotland*, where he had been formerly educated, to desire some persons of character and learning, to come and instruct his people. The *Scots* clergy sent him *Aidan*, a man highly commended by *Bede* *, for his piety and learning, tho' he did not conform to the rites of the church of *Rome*, in keeping *Easter* : he fixed his seat in *Holy Island*, on the coast of *Northumberland*, about the year 634 ; whatever he proposed, was chearfully complied with, the king thinking himself obliged to be governed by his direction, in whatever related to Religion. Several *Scots* men came to his assistance, who preached with great application over all *Oswald's* dominions ; and thus Religion prospered. The *West Saxons* were converted by the preaching of *Birinnus* †, about the year 635. The conversion of the *East Angles*, was carried on by *Felix* the *Burgundian*, encouraged by *Segebert* a religious prince ‡, who had been educated in *France*, and by *Furseus* a monk, of great piety. *Bede* gives him an extraordinary character, and says, *He was honoured by the conversation of angels before his death* ‡. In the year of our Lord 640, *Eadbald* king of *Kent* departed this life, and was succeeded by his son *Earon-conbert*, who reigned with great applause twenty four years ; he was the first *Saxon* prince who made Paganism penal |||, and ordered the idols should be broken, and their worship laid aside ; he commanded the keeping of *Lent* : his daughter *Eartongatha* was abbess of a nunnery in *France*.

The *Middle Angles* were converted in the reign of *Penda*, son of king *Penda* ; he made a visit to *Oswy* king of the *Northumbrians*, desiring *Ablfede* his daughter in marriage. This request could not be granted, but on condition of his turning Christian, and using his endeavours to make his subjects of the same Religion. When he understood the doctrine of the Gospel gave

** *Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 2.*

* *Ibidem cap. 3. 5.* † *Ibidem cap. 7.*

‡ *Ibidem cap. 18.* † *Ibidem cap. 19.* ||| *Ibidem cap. 8.*

gave a prospect of so noble rewards ; that the resurrection of the body, and eternal happiness in heaven, were in expectation ; he declared himself willing to turn *Christian* ††, tho' the princess should be refused. Being thus satisfied, he was admitted to baptism, with all his train, by *Finanus* the bishop : being baptized himself, he returned home with four priests, to promote the conversion of his subjects, their names were *Cedda*, *Adda*, *Betti* and *Diuma*, the three first were *English*, the last a *Scots* man ; by whom many of the people were persuaded to renounce *Paganism*, and come into the bosom of the church. I shall not give the detail of all the other *Saxon* princes, and their people turning *Christian*, tho' I have given the most considerable ; some of them afterward revolted to *Paganism* ; *they went out from us, because they were not of us.*

The isle of *Wight* continued longest of the *English Saxons* in heathenish idolatry, but were gained at last ; *Bede* does not relate the year, but it seems to be about the 684th year of the *Christian Æra*. The occasion was, *Caedwella* made a descent upon that isle, then wholly given to idolatry ; he obtained a victory, but made a tragical use of it, putting all the inhabitants to the sword ; he planted their country with a colony of his own subjects, and made a vow, *That he would give a fourth part to the church* ; which he performed. *Willifrid* arriving at that juncture, the whole isle, according to *Bede* *, containing possessions for 1200 families, the conqueror gave the bishop 300 of them, which he committed to a clergyman named *Bernwin*, his sister's son, with the assistance of a priest called *Hiddila*, who preached the word, and administered baptism to all who would receive it. Two sons of *Arwald* king of the island, were admitted within the Church, and afterward killed by the cruel Conqueror.

'Tis not far out of our way, here to observe, that the Christianity that was in the island before the *Saxon Conquest*, was more pure and free from *Romish Corruptions*,

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than

†† Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 21.

* Ibidem Lib. 4. cap. 16.

than what came in about this time ; there were great contests between those of the old stamp and those of the new ; the former lived in *Wales* and *Scotland*, the latter in the heart of *England* : those who disowned the *Romish* impositions, were called the *Schismaticks* of *Britain* and *Ireland*, because they would not receive the alterations from *Rome*, nor submit to the authority that imposed them. In the year 601, there was a synod called by *Austin*, to which *Bede* tells us *, the bishops or doctors of the next province of the *Britons* were summoned, in which *Dinooth* abbot of *Bangor* told him, they owned no other subjection to the pope of *Rome*, but what they were bound to by the *Christian duties* of love and charity ; nor would they own *Austin*, who carried so haughtily, for their archbishop. About 1200 of the poor monks, not long after this, lost their lives for this freedom and resolution. The ground of the contest was about the time of keeping *Easter* ; as for the *Romans*, they kept it on that *Sunday* which fell between the fifteenth and twenty first day of the moon, both terms included, next after the 21st day of *March*, which they accounted to be the seat of the *vernal equinox* ; and in reckoning the age of the moon, they followed the *Alexandrian Cycle* of nineteen years, as it was explained to them by *Dionysius Exiguus*. The *Scots* and *Britons* kept *Easter* upon the *Sunday* that fell between the 14th and 20th day of the moon, following in their account *Sulpitius Severus's* Cycle of 84 years. So that the ground of the controversy may be justly called a lunacy. Pope *Honorius*, about the year 635, wrote to the *Scots* about an uniformity in this point, and gravely admonished them †, *Not to think, that such a small number as they were, in the ends of the earth, were wiser than the ancient and modern churches, thro' the world ; and not to celebrate another Easter, against the pascal computations and decrees of the synodal pontiffs of the whole world.* Pope *John*, who succeeded *Honorius*, wrote a letter to them upon

* *Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 2.*

† *Ibidem cap. 19.*

upon the same subject †. Some time after this, there was a conference about the difference at *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*, where king *Oswy* determined to adhere to the successor of *St. Peter*, for fear, lest that saint, who, he was told, kept the keys of the kingdom of heaven, should at last deny him an admission there ‖. For this doughty reason, the notions of the old *British* and *Scottish* Christians, which they professed to have received out of *Greece*, from the disciples of *St. John*, *Polycarp*, &c. were rejected with contempt, and those of the *Roman* stamp admitted, as much more safe and modish; and the whole matter was yet more fully settled in the synod of *Hereford*, under archbishop *Theodore*, in the year 673 ‡. But the difference did not lie only in the time of keeping *Easter*; they differed also about baptism, and the tonsure of priests. The difference about baptism Dr. *Calamy* conceives ** to have been about the trine immersion, then remarkable in the church of *Rome*. But the power of imposing upon fellow-christians, was a main part of the controversy, each side ran pretty high; those of the *Roman* stamp would not receive imposition of hands from those of the other party, who were not behind-hand with them in stiffness, of which the letter of *Laurentius*, who succeeded *Austin* in the archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, furnishes us with an instance ††; for 'tis there brought in as a complaint, that *Dagamus* their abbot or bishop, when he was with some of the *Roman* stamp, not only would not eat with them, but would not so much as eat in the same inn with them.

From the whole, we have reason to believe, that many of those old *Britons* or *Scots* were excellent persons, and that God by their means kept up true Christianity in this island, to a greater degree than it would otherwise have been preserved. Even *Bede* himself represents *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman*, who were chief

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leaders

† Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 19:

‖ Ibidem Lib. 3. cap. 25. ‡ Ibidem Lib. 4. cap. 5.

** God's concern for his Glory in the British Isles, pag. 34.

†† Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 4.

leaders of the *Scots*, and famous preachers in *Northumberland*, as eminent for their great continency and the love of God, for a regular life, and great observers of the works of piety and chastity, which they learned out of the holy scriptures: in a word, they stood up for the purity of Christianity, as founded on the Word of God; and were diligent and fruitful in the works of piety and chastity, wherein they maintained themselves a long time, against the canons and ordinances of the *Romish* councils.

If we look into other parts of the Christian world, *Alstedius* informs us *, That, in the reign of the emperor *Heraclius*, *Amandus Gallus* converted the people of *Ghent*; the altars, upon which they sacrificed to *Mercury*, being destroyed. *Chilenus* a *Scots* man persuaded those of the province of *Artois* to receive the Christian Faith. *Gallus* and *Columbanus*, two *Scots* men, founded many churches in several places of *Germany*, especially in *Suabia*. *Egidius Gallus* converted the *Flandrians* †. *Chilianus* a *Scots* man converted the upper *Franconia*; he himself was made bishop of *Wurtsburg* ‡. The *English* and *Scots* in other parts of *Germany* did the same; for out of *Britain* many numerous ecclesiastick colonies came into *Germany*.

Dr. *Mackenzie* has a fuller account of *Columbanus*; he says ‡, That it appears he was born in Scotland, from his own works, where he calls himself sometimes a Briton, sometimes a *Scots* man. In the letter *Laurentius* wrote to the church of Scotland, he is reckoned with *Dagamus* the *Scots* abbot; he was educated in the monastery of *Hy* or *Icolmkill*; towards the latter end of the year 589, he went with twelve monks from *Hy* to France, where he retired to the solitude of *Verge* near *Besançon*, and there founded the monasteries of *Luxevil* and *Fountainne*, which he governed twenty years. About the year 598, he was engaged in the controversy about Easter, and maintained the practice of the *Scots* church, concern-
ing

* De Conversione Populorum, in Chronologia, Pag. 326.

† De Conversione Populorum, in Chronologia, ad annum 648.

‡ Ibidem ad annum 688.

‡ Lives of Scots Writers, vol. 1. Life of *Columban*.

ing the time of that festival, in opposition to the rites of the church of Rome, which they violently imposed upon the world. Columban also travelled to Swisserland, where he converted many pagans, and thence returned to Italy, where he founded the monastery of Bobio.

Alstedius adds, That the people of Westphalia were persuaded to embrace the profession of the Christian Faith, by the two Evaldi *, the one of which was surnamed White, and the other Black. The Thuringians about Erfurd, were converted about the year of our Lord 698.

In this age, the delusion of *Mabomet*, to the great prejudice of Christianity, began to overspread the world. The *Mabometan Hegira* commenceth with the 16th of July, 622 of the Christian *Æra*. Of the life of *Mabomet* I have formerly discoursed †, and I have no design now to insist upon this great judgment of God upon degenerate Christians.

It is remarkable, that the emperor *Heraclius*, being vexed with the daily injuries *Chosroes* king of *Persia* did to the Christian provinces, he sent him an embassy for peace; to which that proud heathenish prince returned this answer, *He would not spare the Christians, till they, denying their crucified Jesus, should worship the sun* ||. After this blasphemy, the Christian emperor *Heraclius* was successful in his wars against *Chosroes*; he defeated him and his whole army in 622, and maintained his victory for five years; at length he was taken prisoner by *Siroes*, whom he would have deprived of his crown, in favour of a younger brother, and shut up in a nasty prison, where he was fed with bread and water: and after the mortifying sight of the murder of his children, he himself was put to death.

Samo king of the *Venedi*, a people who live at the source of the rivers *Save* and *Drave*, plundered and killed some merchants belonging to king *Dagobert*: this king therefore invaded their country with an army,

* Alstedius ubi supra.

† Supra, Chapter first.

|| Sigonius de regno Italiæ Lib. 2. Pag. 34. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte prima, Pag. 415.

army, subdued it, and made the people submit to Christianity *.

About the end of this century, *Willibroad*, being encouraged by the Major of the palace in *France*, made some progress in converting the people of *West-Friseland*. *Jeremy Collier* calls this *Willibroad* an *English* priest †. *Dr. Mackenzie* contends he was a *Scots* man ‖; and for this adduces the testimonies of *Boethius* ‡, *Camerarius* **, and *Alcuin* who wrote the life of *Willibroad*. *Bede* says ††, “ That he went to “ *Rome*, and in the year 696, was made bishop of “ *Utrecht* by the pope; he returned to his diocese, “ where he built his cathedral, and preached the Gospel “ far and near, reclaiming many from the error of “ their way, and erecting many churches and monasteries: he is yet alive (says *Bede*) venerable for “ old age, having exercised his episcopal office thirty “ six years, he now breathes for a crown of glory.” Other missionaries assisted him in reclaiming the *Friselanders* from their idolatry.

Tho’ most of the nations converted from paganism, in this and some following ages, were subject to the bishop of *Rome*, and increased his authority, submitting to the corruptions of these times; yet it deserves to be remarked, that they were the seed out of which God raised to himself purer, yea, even protestant churches afterwards: and therefore, their conversion to Christianity, ought to be noticed, as a part of the performance of that prophecy, *The kingdoms of this world, are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.*

In the eighth Century, the *Saxon* kings and their people in *England*, now generally professed themselves Christians;

* Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte prima, pag. 418. ex Aventino annalium Bojorum, Lib. 3. pag. 279.

† Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. 1. pag. 115.

‖ Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. 1.

‡ Hist. Scotorum, pag. 651.

** De Scotorum doctrina & pietate.

†† Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 12.

Christians ; yea, some of them became so zealous, that *Cenred* king of the *Mercians*, tho' a prince well qualified for government, threw up his crown, and taking a monastick habit under Pope *Constantine*, spent the remainder of his life in charity, discipline and devotion. *Offa* king of the *East-Saxons* kept him company, both in his journey and design. *Bede* describes him *, as a very graceful person, in the prime of his youth, well qualified to sway a sceptre ; but out of devotion, he disengaged himself from his wife, his relations, his interest and country, that, as he believed, he might receive a hundred fold in this life, *and in the world to come, life everlasting.* King *Ina* did the same, about the year of our Lord 728 †. Monasteries began now so to increase in *England*, that even *Bede* himself gives this advice to *Egbert* bishop of *York*, That if their numbers and regulations were not taken care of, they might prove to the disadvantage both of church and state ‡. *Bede* died in the year 735, or, according to others, 736 ; he was born in 673, sent to the monastery of *Yarrow*, not far from the mouth of the river *Tyne*, in the bishoprick of *Durham*, while a child, where he continued the whole course of his life, and made great proficiency in almost every part of learning, spending his whole time in study and devotion : He wrote *Axioms*, *Metaphysicks*, *Mathematicks*, *Controversies*, *Commentaries on Scripture*, and several books of *History* : his whole works are contained in eight *Tomes*. *Malmsbury* † gives him an extraordinary character, and says, “ History slept, and all notice of publick transactions “ was in a manner buried since his time. The *English* “ grew slothful and unlettered, and took no care to “ come up to the sense and figure of their predecessors ; and thus the inclination of posterity grew “ cooler and cooler, till they dwindled at last into a “ remarkable ignorance.”

The

* Hist. Eccl. Lib. 5. cap. 20.

† Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. 1. pag. 123.

‡ Ibidem pag. 124. Bedæ Epistola ad Egbertum Ep̃m.

† Malmsbury de gestis Anglorum, Lib. 1. cap. 3. apud Collier ubi supra, pag. 126.

The conversion of the northern parts of *Germany*, about this time, deserves our particular notice. In entering upon this subject, I might enlarge upon the idolatry of those nations, but I have given some account thereof already *; and those who are curious, may see more in a book intitled *Antiquitates Selectæ Septentrionales & Celticæ, auctore Johanne Georgio Keyser*, printed at *Hanover*, in 1720; where we may find how these nations, and even the *English Saxons*, before they received the Gospel, worshipped huge stones, as in the monument *Henchinge* near *Salisbury*, and trees and woods, with a great many uncouth deities; the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Odin*, *Thoron*, *Tuisco*, *Mannus*, *Frea*, *Hesus*, *Irmenful*, &c. Also how necromancy, charming and witches were frequent among them; yea, they even idolized some of these old hags, as appears from many Inscriptions in that learned author. And we may expect further discoveries in these matters when he shall publish his large book, intitled, *Germania Gentilis, de Diis veterum Celtarum, Gentiumque septentrionalium*, as is proposed in the 297th page of his *Antiquitates septentrionales*. But this book having only come to my hand since I had writ the preceding sheets, and lest this history should swell too much under my hand, I shall not enter upon further enquiries concerning that subject. No doubt, the condition of these northern nations under heathenish idolatry and profound barbarous ignorance, was very lamentable: our principal care may be, to discover how these evils were removed.

In order to this 'tis to be observed, that tho' in the first ages of the Christian Church, our holy religion was propagated thro' many parts of *Asia*, *Africa* and *Europe*, as hath been already explained; and came also to some parts of the south of *Germany*, as is observed by *Joachimus Muller* †: yet in the northern parts, which lie toward the *Baltick* sea, and *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, tho' there might be some few Christians scattered here and there, heathenish idolatry was not extirpated,

* Near the end of Chap. II. of this history.

† Præfatio ad Crantzii Metropolin.

extirpated, nor the Christian Religion settled before this century. *Boniface* was a great instrument of promoting this good work ; he was a *Scotsman*, as is proved by *Dr. Mackenzie* *, from the letters of *Boniface*, and those of the Popes *Gregory* the second and third, to him, and as is asserted by many other authors cited by *Dr. Mackenzie* and *Dempster* †. He was born in the year 670, and called *Winifrid* ; he entered into orders in the year 700 ; in 715 he went from *England* to *Friesland*, to preach the Gospel there. He went to *Rome* in 718 ; his oath of obedience to the pope is recorded by *Binius* ‡. Indeed he was faithful to him, and too great a promoter of the papal superstition and supremacy, and he is said to have converted multitudes to the profession of the Christian Religion. He was made a bishop in the year 723, and continued to preach in *Thuringia*, *Hassia*, and *Bavaria*. By Pope *Gregory* he was made archbishop of *Mentz* in the year 731 ; he held a council for ecclesiastick affairs in the year 742, where several canons were made, extant in the capitularies of *Carloman*. About the year 748, he laid down the archiepiscopal dignity in favour of *Lullus* his scholar, and after this went to *Utrecht*, to preach the Gospel to the unconverted *Frieslanders*, where he was barbarously murdered by the infidels in *June* 754, and of his age 84.

The *Magdeburgick* centuriators, from *Chronicon Urbis Isenacensis*, tell this story || ; That when *Boniface* bishop of *Mentz* saw his neighbours in *Thuringia* so mad upon heathenish superstition, that no man durst venture to preach the Gospel among them, but with the danger of his life, he levy'd an army, and made an inroad into their country. The Infidels being afraid, retired to a strong place called *Tretenburg* ; *Boniface* calling their leaders, said, *All his design was to preach the offers of salvation to them thro' Jesus Christ the Redeemer.* The
Thuringians

* *Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. 1.

† In dissertatione de Bonifacii patria.

‡ *Conciliorum*, Tom. 3. pag. 341.

|| *Cent. viii.* pag. 13. Tit. de Propagatione Ecclesiæ.

Thuringians being intent upon worldly gain, asked, *What advantage would redound to them by submitting to Christ?* The bishop answered, *Christ the Son of God became man, to purchase righteousness and eternal life; if you believe in him, you'll be delivered from all evil in soul and body, from hell, and from the power of the devil; yea, shall receive heaven and eternal happiness.* But, said they, *we are under the servitude of the king of Hungary, who obliges us to pay the tenth to him, not only of our worldly goods, but even of our children; if the God you worship will relieve us from this servitude, we'll believe in him, worship and adore him; but if otherwise, we'll retain our old religion at all hazards.* Boniface being a long time doubtful what to answer to this proposal, at last was admonished by a vision, saying, “O flow in heart to believe, how can the *Thuringians* believe on me, when thou thy self doubtest? Hast thou not read in the Scripture, *He suffered no man to do them wrong, yea, he reprov'd kings for their sake?* I command thee to tell the *Thuringians*, they shall be free of these tithes; it shall not be in the power of the king of *Hungary* to exact these of them, and stay thou in their country, till thou see all this made good.” When Boniface had told them this message, they began to give a more favourable reception to the Christian Religion. The king of *Hungary* being informed that Boniface had absolved his subjects from obedience to him, marches an army against them. When they came to a decisive battel, Boniface prayed earnestly for these new converts, and they soon gained the victory, and acknowledged they obtained it by the favour of Almighty God; and therefore they rejected their heathenish superstition, embraced the doctrine of Christ, and were baptized: And, that they might be for ever free from the yoke of the *Hungarians*, they entreated Boniface to desire King *Carloman* to send a deputy-governour to take them under his protection, which he willingly did.

In this century, the Emperor *Charlemain* concluded a league with *Achaius* king of *Scotland*: tho' some writers

ters doubt of this fact, yet our *Scots* antiquaries, Sir *Robert Sibbald*, Dr. *Mackenzie**, Dr. *Abercromby*†, and others, have given sufficient evidence for it; which authors the reader may consult. In consequence of this league, our King *Achaius* sent over his brother *William* or *Guiellerm* (the *French* annals call him *L'Escot*) at the head of four thousand men, who had the honour to share in all the glories of the *French* in these days. The *Saracens* were routed in *Spain*, the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and the *Saxons* in *Germany* were not only routed, but also conquered. *Scotland* also sent over some learned and religious men, who contributed to the restoring of learning, and propagating religion in several parts of *Europe*, as is well expressed by *Buchanan*‡. The most remarkable of those who went over, in obedience to *Achaius's* commands and *Charlemaign's* entreaty, were *Johannes Scotus*, *Claudius Clemens*, *Rabbanus Maurus*, and *Flaccus Albinus*||, so called from his being born in *Albion*, as Dr. *Mackenzie* and *Fordun* have evinced from *Notkerus Balbus*, and distinguished him from the *English* *Alcuin*; he had the double honour of being the author of the books called *Caroline*, and the founder of the university at *Pavia*, and *Clemens* is said to have founded that at *Paris*. Of *Rabbanus Maurus* (who, for the eminency of his learning and piety, was preferred to the archbishoprick of *Mentz*) it was said, *Nor Italy nor Germany*

* *Lives of Scots writers*, vol. 1.

† *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*, vol. 1. pag. 113. & seq.

‡ In *Epithalamio Francisci & Mariæ*.

*Scotia, cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus orbem,
Sola prope expulsis fuit hospita terra Camcenis,
Hinc Sophiæ Grajæ, Sophiæ decreta Latinæ
Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juventæ
Carolus ad Celtas traduxit.*————

*When barbarous Foes the Roman World o'erspread,
The gentle Muses all to Scotland fled;
Hence Greek and Roman Learning in full store,
By Charlemaign to France was waisted o'er,
And planted, throve, as on their native Shore.*



|| *Spotiswood*, lib. 1. pag. 22. *Abercromby*, ubi supra, pag. 118.

Germany *did ever produce his equal.* That all those were *Scotsmen*, Dr. *Mackenzie* has plainly proved in their lives*. That they and others of our country were very instrumental to plant religion in Germany, appears from *Bonaventure Strachan* in his MSS. entitled, *Germania Christiana per Scotos*, which is to be seen in the advocates library at *Edinburgh*. *Du Cange* a foreigner tells us†, *That he is mistaken, if either an Englishman or an Irishman can be admitted into these houses.* A larger account of these *Scots* monasteries, and of learned *Scotsmen* who propagated religion in Germany, may be seen in *Blaeu's Atlas*‡.

The planting of Christianity in the northern parts of Germany, which I am now to explain, has been particularly treated of by *Albertus Crantzii*, doctor of divinity and laws, and dean of the church of *Hamburg*||, who had occasion to consult the annals of these churches; he was grieved with the errors and corruptions of the time, but had not the courage to set himself in opposition to them|||, tho he lived toward the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth century, and died about the time *Luther* first published his propositions against the pope's indulgences, and was a man of piety and learning. From him we may observe, that

Charlemaign king of *France*, and afterward emperor of Germany, grieved to see the infidelity and perfidy of the *Saxons*, and remembering, that his grandfather *Charles Martel* and his father *Pepin*, who brought the royal dignity into his family, had oft endeavoured to persuade them to renounce paganism and embrace the Christian Religion, with little success; he set himself to perfect that work they had begun. About the year
of

* *Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. 1. pag. 63. & seq.

† *Du Cange Gloss. med. & inf. Lat.* vol. 2. pag. 778. Germ. Edit. apud *Abercromby*, ubi supra, pag. 120.

‡ Edit. 1662. *Scotia*, pag. 22,—25.

|| *Crantzii Eccl. Hist. five Metrop.* Folio.

||| *Muller* in præfat. ad *Crantzii Metropolin*.

of our Lord 770, he obtained several victories over the Saxons *, yet imposed no other conditions upon them, but to acknowledge the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he had sent. Many submitted and were baptized, giving hostages for their fidelity; but as soon as the victorious army retired from their country, they returned to their infidelity and rebellion. *Wittekind* their sovereign fought several times with *Charlemaign* and his captains; at last being routed, he fled to the king of Denmark, whose daughter he had married.

In the year 780 †, *Charlemaign* marched a great army into Saxony: *Wittekind* gathers the whole strength of the country against him; but after a bloody battel is put to flight. The conqueror spared the remainder of the Saxons, requiring only of them to embrace Christianity. He put a garrison in *Wittekind's* chief castle, and erected a church in the city of *Osnaburg*, founding there an episcopal See, to one *Wibo* a *Frieslander*, who had been converted by *Boniface*; and appointed a revenue for that bishop and his clergy out of the fruits of the province, that he might instruct and confirm those who had been lately baptized, and settled schools for teaching Greek and Latin. *Crantz* has a copy of the first charter of erection ‡. He founded another church in East Saxony, near the river *Weser*, in a place called *Salingsted*. *Hildegryn* the brother of *Ludger*, was the first bishop there. The emperor took also a religious care to demolish the idols the pagan Saxons worshipped, one of them was called *Krodo*, adored in the old castle of *Hartzburg*. Even to this day, says our author ||, any abominable thing is called *Krodo* in that country. There was a temple and image of *Venus*, with the three Graces, at *Magdeburg* upon the *Elb*, which was also overturned. *Aventinus* ||| says, he destroyed also an idol called *Ermensul*. *Hildegryn* caused a church to be built at *Halberstadt*, which for a while was his

* *Crantzii Metropolis*, cap. 1. pag. 2. † *Ibid.* cap. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 3. || *Ibid.* cap. 3. pag. 4.

||| *Annalium Bojorum*, pag. 319.

his own residence. Another church was erected at *Paderborn*, and committed to the oversight of the bishop of *Wurtsburg*.

In the year 785, *Wittekind* being weary of his frequent vain rebellious attempts, sent one *Abion* an *Holsteiner*, to *Charles* the Great, offering to wait on him, if he might do it with safety. This being granted, he offered as a catechumen to be instructed in the faith; within a little after he was baptized, and had some of his castles restored to him. Thus matters in *Saxony* were settled for a while, and churches were multiplied. Another bishoprick was erected in the middle of *Saxony*, now *Westphalia*, at a place then called *Mymengrode*, but now *Munster*; where *Ludger* a *Frieslander*, the brother of *Hildegryn*, was ordained bishop: he was a person of a good character, and died in the year 809. *Swibert* hearing his countrymen the *Saxons* received the Gospel, and that the harvest was great, and the labourers few, came out of *England* to contribute his assistance in that good work, and was made bishop of *Werden* *. *Willebad* an *Englishman*, was ordained bishop of *Bremen* in the year 788. *Crantzius* † has a copy of the Emperor *Charlemagne's* letters, for the erection and revenues of that See. *Herimbert* was made bishop of *Minden*, and *Guntber* of *Middleseim*. The emperor had frequently honoured the city of *Paderborn* with his presence, and erected a church there, but did not make it a bishoprick till the year 794. After this he passed the *Elbe*, and destroyed twelve heathenish idols in *Hamburg*, and introduced Christianity there. Being vexed with the rebellions and frequent tumults of the *Saxons* near that river, he transported ten thousand of them into *Gaul*. *Crantz* is of opinion ‡, that they were sent into *Flanders*, which was then only a large forrest and hunting field, with very few inhabitants. The last church he erected was at *Hamburg*, of which he made *Heridagus* priest, designing afterwards to create him metropolitan. This good emperor died in the year 814; he saw his son *Lewis the Pious* crowned before his death. *Eginbart*,

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* Metropolis, pag. 6. † Ibid. pag. 7, 8. ‡ Ibid. pag. 14.

hart, one of his prime ministers of state, who wrote his life, gives a great character of him, as one of the best and greatest princes who sway'd that sceptre since *Constantine* the Great, the first Christian Emperor.

'Tis recorded, that by this *Charles* the Great the Christian Religion was propagated in *Hungary**; for he chased the *Hungarians* to the mountains of *Buda*, where, being obliged by famine to surrender, he gave those who embraced the Christian Religion not only their life, but also their liberty and estate: but such as refused this offer, and persisted in their abominable idolatry, he took their estates from them, sparing only their lives. When he had taken the city *Sicambria*, now called *Buda*, he exhorted all the inhabitants, *that laying aside their idolatry, they would believe in Christ, and worship him*. He erected a temple there, and caused priests to be ordained, to promote the interests of religion. *Modestus* a clergyman was sent by *Tbassilo* to the *Venedi*, who dwelt near the source of the rivers *Save* and *Drave*; he erected churches among them. When he died, *Clitomarus* their captain sent for other teachers, and upon his desire, *Madoldus* and *Variomarus* came to him†. When the *Venedi* persecuted their chieftain for turning Christian, *Tbassilo* supported him, that he might be able to punish the rebellious; and *Vergilius* sent him more teachers, viz. *Hæmo*, *Reginovaldus*, *Marjoranus*, *Gotharius*, *Erchinobertus*, *Reginard*, *Augustine*, and *Guntharius*, men of piety and learning, who explained the mysteries of our holy religion, and persuaded many of them to reject idolatry, and embrace Christianity.

Elerick, king of the *Bulgarians*, being in some popular tumult driven out of his country, made a right use of his misfortunes, and retired for safety to *Constantinople*, where the Emperor *Leo* III. about the year 778, received him with much honour; and, according to his own request, ordered him to be instructed in the principles

* Bonfinius, Decad. 1. lib. 9. apud Magdeburg. Centuriatores, Cent. 8. pag. 16.

† Aventin. Annalium Bojorum, lib. 3. pag. 304. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. vol. 1. pag. 524.

ciples of the Christian Religion, which he embraced; created him a Patrician, and married him to a relation of the empress *Irene*.

Ingo king of the *Venedi* persuaded many of his nobles to embrace Christianity, by this stratagem: He made a great feast, to which he invited both his men of quality and commons; he caused the former to sit without doors, where he entertained them only with coarse beef, spoil'd bread, and sour wine in earthen pitchers; but treated the latter with rich fare, where they drank the best of wines in cups of gold and silver. The nobility being highly offended at this contempt done them, he told them, *He regaled the commons in this sort, because they were baptized and holy persons, who would sit with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but as for them, they were wallowing in the vile puddle of heathenish superstition, which made them nauseous and unfavoury to God and all good men.* Thus he caught them by guile, and persuaded them to be instructed and baptized*.

About this time a great part of *Spain* was not only subdued by the *Saracens*, but also turned to infidelity†; but *Charles* the Great recovered that country, from the frontiers of *France* to *Corduba*, and delivered the Christians from *Mahometan* oppression. Thus God ordered in his providence, that while the infidel *Saracens* gained ground in *Asia* and *Africa*, the Christian Religion extended its conquests in *Europe*.

In the ninth century, the little principalities of the *Saxon* heptarchy being dissolved in *England*, *Egbert* king of the *West Saxons* reigned over that whole country peaceably; till, toward the end of his life, the descent of the *Danes* made him very uneasy. Since these heathens were so great a scourge not only to this island, but also to other parts of *Europe* for above two hundred years, 'tis not out of our road to give some account of them. As to their original, they were a collection

* Hottinger Hist. Eccl. pag. 525. vol. 1.

† Cent. Magdeburg, Cent. 8. pag. 18.

lection of the rabble of *Germany*, especially that part of it which lies upon the *Ocean* and *Baltick*. Thus they were compounded of the *Goths*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Swedes*, *Frisians*, &c*. All agreed in laziness and barbarity, who gave their minds to nothing but thieving and robbing, having nothing of humanity in them; their business being rather to spoil and destroy, than to conquer: so that tho' they reduced the country to the lowest extremities of want, they looked like *Pharaoh's* lean cows, and were little richer for their acquisitions. They were so savage as to murder the people without distinction of age, sex or condition, to burn the towns and villages, and lay all in blood and ashes; so as there was scarce any part of the land free from the fury and devastation of this enemy. Tho' these foreigners over-run the island in a terrible manner, yet their conquests were not so fatal as their manners. Their contempt of religion, and the barbarity of their temper, seemed to spread like a gangrene, and grow epidemical in the country. The liberties of war had debauched the *Saxons*, and made them more vicious than they were before. 'Tis true, they very far declined in their morals before the invasion of the *Danes*, which, as *Huntingdon* † and *Hoveden* ‡ report, was the cause these barbarous nations were let loose upon them. The *English*, say these authors ||, were degenerate to a great dissolution of manners; that for libertinism, treason and rebellion, they were particularly infamous, so as nothing but virtue and religion were uncreditable, that it was scarce safe for an honest man to live among them. To punish these impieties, God gave them up to the fury of the *Danes*, who, where-ever they came, either murdered or made slaves of the inhabitants, rified and burnt their monasteries and churches, and destroyed all monuments of learning and religion.

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain*, book iii. pag. 153.

† *Huntingdon's Hist.* lib. 5. in Prolog.

‡ *Hoveden's Annals*, pars prior, fol. 236.

|| *Apud Collier*, ubi supra, pag. 154.

In the year 832, the *Danes* made their first descent upon the isle of *Sheppey*, and plunder'd it; but 'tis not my business to give an account of their wars and battels, which were many. In a little time, these Pagans over-run the kingdoms of *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, and the *East Angles*, burnt *York*, and plundered *Nottingham*, with a great many other considerable places. The famous monasteries of *Croyland*, *Peterburgh*, and *Ely*, were plundered and destroyed; the monks and nuns killed, the altars and monuments broken and defaced; the churches, cloysters and libraries burnt. They marched further into the country of the *East Angles*, and defeated earl *Wittekul*, King *Edmund's* General; upon the loss of the battel that pious king was taken prisoner, who refusing to comply with their terms, and renounce the Christian Religion, the *Danes* tied him to a stake, and shot him to death with their arrows. These, and other ravages of these barbarians, had ruined the commonwealth of learning*, and frightened the muses out of the country. The enemy seemed to proclaim war against sense and understanding; they hated to see the *English* better polish'd than themselves; and as they plundered the monasteries out of covetousness, so they burnt the libraries out of envy, that there might be nothing remaining to reproach their ignorance. Hence bishop *Wulfig*, in his letter, as it stands in a preface to *Alfred's* translation of *St. Gregory's* pastoral, says, "Indeed knowledge is so entirely
 " vanished from the *English*, that there are very few
 " on this side the *Humber*; that can either translate a
 " piece of *Latin*, or so much as understand the liturgy
 " in their mother tongue." King *Alfred*, to cure this evil, invited a great many scholars of character to his court, as *Joannes Scotus Erigena*, our countryman, a great master of the languages and learning, who was murdered in the monastery of *Malmsbury*; he wrote strongly against the doctrine of *Paschasius*, who maintained, *That the body of Christ in the eucharist was the*
same

* Afferius, pag. 18. Vita Alfredi, lib. 3. pag. 132. apud Collier Eccl. Hist. Britan. vol. 1. pag. 165.

same that was born of the blessed Virgin. Grimbold, and other foreigners were also invited by this learned king, and there were some men of learning in the country it self. *Alfred* founded the university of *Oxford*, and departed this life in the year 890. As for *Scotland*, tho' the *Danes* made several descents upon our country, yet they were soon beat out of it, as appears by our historians*.

If we look into other parts of *Europe*, *Ludovicus Pius*, son to *Charles* the Great, called by the *French*, *Louis le Debonaire*, succeeded his father in his kingdom, and in his care to promote Christianity. He removed a college of monks from *Cerbie* on the river *Somme* in *France*, to *Corbie* on the *Weser* in *Saxony*. *St. Ansgarius* was then a youth full of divine love, says *Crantzius*†, which prompted him with zeal to preach the Gospel to the northern parts of the world, then under paganism. An occasion soon offered; *Harold* king of *Denmark* had been defeated by a competitor, he asked auxiliaries from the Emperor *Louis Debonaire*, which he was willing to grant, upon condition *Harold* would embrace the Christian Religion, and be baptized; which the petitioner consenting to do, his wife and nobility there present, were baptized at *Mentz*. He sought preachers to instruct his people in the same religion. *Ansgarius* being thought a proper person for so difficult a work, willingly consented, saying, *Here am I, send me*. *Gaudibert* went to assist him in that service.

While *Harold*, with the army, went to *Jutland*, *Ansgarius* or *Ansbair* penetrated into the innermost parts of the kingdom; the work of God did prosper in his hand, many being persuaded to believe on Christ, whom he and his fellow-labourer preached. In a few months they returned, and reported their success; others concurred to promote the same design, and went to the city *Birca* or *Berg* in *Swedeland*, where many of the people believed, and were baptized. *Harold* and

H 4

his

* *Hector Boethius, Buchanan, &c.*

† *Metropolis, lib. 1. cap. 19.*

his army was again defeated, and obliged to retire to *Friesland*, yet this did not discourage those zealous men; they stayed two years in that country, and then returned to *Corbie* on the *Weser*. *Anschaire* being now in great reputation, the emperor caused him to be consecrated archbishop of *Hamburg*, subjecting all the northern kingdoms beyond the *Elbe*, to his inspection; establishing him *Metropolitan*, by a decree of the bishops and princes at *Worms*, in the year 833 *; which the pope ratified, by giving him the pall, and constituting him his legate in the north. *Suibert* bishop of *Vberden*, and *Tanco* his successor, both *Scots* men †, were useful in this good work of converting these nations to the profession of Christianity: *Rotilla* the sixth bishop of that see, was also an *English* or *Scots* man; the annals do not clearly distinguish ||: many then, moved with a singular devotion, came from far, to promote the interest of Religion in these parts. But 'tis not my design to trouble the reader with the succession of bishops in that country, which, those who desire, may find in *Crantzii Metropolis*. To return to *Ansgarius*, he visited sometimes the *Danes*, and at other times, the *Saxons* on the other side of the *Elbe*, and persuaded many to embrace the faith; when he was hindered by persecution from preaching, he retired to the monastery of *Turbold* in *Flanders*, with his disciples. *Ebo* archbishop of *Rheims*, but afterwards at *Hildesheim*, assisted him in preaching; but he, whether wearied of that work, or weakened with bodily infirmity, substituted his nephew *Gaudibert*, and they consecrated *Simon* a bishop, and sent him to *Swedeland*, where *Ansgarius* had formerly paved his way. *Lewis* the *Debonaire* died in the year 840.

Lotbarius his eldest son, who had been before chosen emperor, conceiving he ought to be sovereign over his brethren, took up arms for that purpose; but they uniting their forces, gave him a total defeat at *Fontenay*,
June

* *Crantz Metropolis* cap. 20. pag. 18.

† *Crantz Metropolis* cap. 20. pag. 19.

|| *Ibidem* cap. 29. pag. 23.

June 25, 841; and being beaten a second time, the next year he came to an accommodation with them, retaining for his share, *Italy, Gallia Belgica*, since called *Lorain, Provence, and Burgundy*. Amidst these commotions, the *Danes* made an inroad into *Germany*, besieged *Cologne*, and burnt *Hamburg*. That famous city, says *Crantz**, was either plundered or laid in ashes; the church, the monastery, the library, carefully collected by *Ansgarius*, were all consumed; *Anschaire* himself escaping with difficulty. *Gaudibert* and *Simon* were made to flee from *Swedeland*, by persecution, *Vitardus* his chaplain, and some others, suffered martyrdom. For seven years *Swedeland* wanted preachers. *Herigarius* governor of *Birca*, was the only person who supported Christianity. *Crantz* says †, that by his gift of miracles and holy exhortations, he saved thousands of *Pagans*. *Hamburg* being destroy'd, where *Anschaire* had been bishop sixteen years, he was made bishop of *Bremen*, where he continued eighteen years ‡. From thence, he made another visit to *Denmark*, where he persuaded king *Eric* to embrace Christianity, and there he erected a church, at a place called *Sliasnuigh*, on the lake *Slia*, which church is called to this day by his name. The king giving liberty to every body in his kingdom, to own themselves Christians, a great multitude of heathens believed, and were baptizied. *Ansgarius* returned to *Bremen*, and thence made several visits to *Denmark*. He found difficulty to prevail with any body to go to *Sweden*, and therefore, having obtained letters of recommendation from king *Eric*, he adventures thither himself. At *Birca* or *Berg*, he met with *Olaus* king of that country, whom by good providence he found so favourable, as to allow a church to be built there ‡, and every body that pleased to be baptized; he committed the care of advancing the work of God in this country, to *Erimbert* a presbyter, and returned to his diocesis. Pope *Nicholas* united the bishopricks of

* *Crantz Metropolis*, cap. 33.

† *Ibidem* pag. 27. ‖ *Ibidem Lib. 1. pag. 29.*

‡ *Crantz Metropolis*, pag. 30.

of *Hamburg* and *Bremen* into one, in favour of *Ansgarius*, to whom he gives an ample character, as appears by the bull itself, at large inserted in *Crantz's Metropolis* *. The *Normans* and *Danes* about this time, made great havock in *France*, ruined the churches, and expelled the priests. *Eric* the younger king of *Denmark*, when he first came to the government, raged against the Christians ; but *Anschaire* addressed himself to him, and minding him of the piety, whether of his father or uncle, my author knows not †, to whom he succeeded, he so pacified him, as he embraced Christianity, and ordered all his people to do the like. After this, and other acts of this kind, wherein he shewed great concern to propagate religion, *Anschaire* died in the year of our Lord 865 ‡. *Rembert* was ordained bishop of *Hamburg* in his room ; he ventured upon many dangers both by sea and land, to promote the interest of the Gospel. Notwithstanding all these endeavours to convert the northern nations of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, the greater part of them remained heathens, and made many incursions into *Germany*, laying the country waste wherever they came : Many Christians were ruined by them. At *Ebbekjörp* these barbarous people committed great abuses ; *Rembert* did all he could to support the Christians who remained, and charitably to relieve the prisoners ; he died in the year 888. This is the sum of what I find in *Crantz*, of propagating Christianity in this century ; he observes ‡, the church of *Rome* did not then, as afterward in his time, assume a power over the privileges of all the churches, but the *Metropolitans* did then every thing in their own province.

The people of *Bobemia* continued for a long time heathens ; there were only some few of them at first converted to Christianity. The Emperor *Lewis* the Second, in the year 846, having reduced *Hungary* to his obedience, marched his army against the *Bobemians*,
whom

* *Crantz Metropolis*, Lib. 1. cap. 38, 39:

† *Ibidem* Lib. 1. cap. 41.

‡ *Crantz Metropolis*, cap. 42. pag. 33.

‡ *Ibidem* Lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. 64.

whom he subdued; fourteen of their nobility, with their families, were baptized*; these were the small beginnings of their church. About the year of our Lord 861, *Michael* the Greek emperor at *Constantinople*, did send *Methodius* to preach the Gospel in that country; and a little after, *Cyrillus* came upon the same errand, who did instruct that people in the Christian Religion more fully. In the year 894, *Borzyvoi* duke of *Bohemia*, having occasion to stay some time with *Swatopluczi* king of *Moravia*, was by good providence instructed in our holy religion, and baptized at *Olmütz* with twenty-three palatines of his country†: He returned home with joy, carrying *Methodius* along with him, as an Apostle, to convert his subjects; where a seed was sown, by the preaching of the Gospel, that soon ripened to a harvest: *Ludomilla* the duke's wife, with a great multitude of his nobility and people, being baptized; the idol *Krosna*, which they before worshipped, being also removed. Duke *Borzyvoi*, in abundance of places in his country, erected churches and schools. Some authors tell us ||, *That the Bohemians did earnestly desire Methodius, not to perform divine service to them in Latin, which they did not understand, but in their native Bohemian or Slavonian Language.* He advised *Cyrillus* his Colleague, then at *Rome*, of this question, and submitted it to the determination of Pope *Nicholas*. When it was debated in the consistory, they say a voice was heard, *Every spirit shall praise God, and every tongue shall confess to him.* Upon which the pope granted to the *Slavonians*, to have divine service in their own language. Indeed 'tis inconceivable, how divine service in an unknown tongue, however it be practised by the church of *Rome*, can edify any body; far less can it edify or allure heathens and strangers, or persuade them to fall in love with our holy Religion.

By

* *Regenvolscii Hist. Eccl. Slavonicarum, Lib. 1. pag. 7.*

† *Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 1. pag. 656.*

|| *Aeneas Sylvius Hist. Bohem. Regenvolscii ut supra, pag. 8. Catalogus testium Veritatis, Lib. 9. pag. m. 926.*

By the pious care of *Lewis the Debonaire*, 'tis said *, the *Huns* and *Avares*, who then inhabited *Dacia* on the other side of the *Danube*, opposite to *Mæsia*, were persuaded to embrace the Christian Religion; and, that *Capanus* their king was baptized in the beginning of this century.

There were also small beginnings of the conversion of the *Poles*, in this age. Some travellers who went into *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, brought the Christian Religion home with them into *Poland* †. Christians had a free access to the prince's court, and no body is said to have been punished by the heathenish *Poles*, for professing Christianity; but the national conversion of that people, was not till the following century.

The country which is now called *Bulgaria*, became Christian in the primitive times; but about the year of your Lord 500, it was over-run by the *Scythians*, who, expelling the Christians, made that nation heathenish: yet about the year 870, they were again converted to Christianity ‖. In a synod at *Constantinople*, there was a long debate, if the *Bulgarians*, whose ambassadors were then present, should be subject to the See of *Rome*, or to that of *Constantinople*? At last, tho' *Basilus* protested against it, they were subjected to the See of *Rome*. Therefore, Pope *Adrian*, at the people's desire, sent them three eminent men, to teach them ecclesiastick order, who are called by *Platina* ‡, *Sylvester the Subdean*, *Leopardus Anconitanus*, and *Dominicus Tarvisinus*; who managed matters according to the pope's desire. But the *Bulgarians*, in a little time, were prevailed upon by the patriarch of *Constantinople*, to expel the *Latin*, and receive *Greek* priests in their room; which occasioned many debates between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. *Zonaras* says **, *The sister*

* *Aventin. Annal. Bojorum*, pag. 348, 423. *Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 1.* pag. 660. *Cent. Magdeburg. Cent. 9.* pag. 10.

† *Regenvolfsci Hist. Eccl. Sclavonicarum*, Lib. 1. pag. 8.

‖ *Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 1.* pag. 657.

‡ *De vitis Pontificum in Adrian 2.* pag. 122.

** *Annalium Tome 3.* pag. 125.

sister of the prince of Bulgaria being taken prisoner by the Greeks, was baptized, and returning home, persuaded her brother to embrace the Christian Religion; which he would not consent to, till being vexed with famine, pestilence and other calamities, he hoped our Saviour might afford him relief, which, upon application to him, he found: and therefore he sent for a bishop to Constantinople, by whom he was instructed in the Christian Religion, and baptized. The heathenish priests raged, and complained of innovations in their way of worship, and stirred up the people to rebellion; but the prince gained a complete victory over his rebellious subjects; which he improved to so good purpose, as to persuade them to embrace Christianity.

I proceed to the tenth century, where we find little in the history of *England*, that concerns the affair we are now upon. About the year 980, the heathenish *Danes* landed at *Southampton*, ravaged the country, and carried off most of the inhabitants; and soon after, the isle of *Thanet* was over-run by them. Near the same time, the city and country of *Chester* was harassed, by a descent of the *Norwegians* *. King *Ethelred* finding himself embarrassed by the *Danes* landing in several places, made use of an improper expedient; he purchased peace, by giving the enemy ten thousand pound to retire. This was the wrong metal, says *Malmsbury* †; for when these *Barbarians* perceived the country rich and cowardly, they became more insolent and demanding. They over-run and plundered *Northumberland*; tho' defeated in a battle, they soon recovered strength, and sat down before *London*; tho' forced to draw off, yet they harassed the country at discretion. The king despairing to hinder their progress by force, gave them sixteen thousand pound to stop their ravage, and desired their King *Anlaf* to come to court, giving hostages for his security. While *Anlaf* stayed at the *English* court, he was persuaded to turn Christian,

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain*, Century 10. pag. 201.

† *De Gestis Anglorum*, Lib. 2. fol. 35. apud *Collier* ubi supra.

Christian, and to promise, never more to return to *England*. But this proved no lasting relief, *Denmark* was always pouring in new adventures and fresh forces; *Devonshire* felt the fury of the invasion, the country was ruined, the monasteries battered down, and the city of *Exeter* laid in ashes. After these devastations, the enemy reembarked, and landed in *Kent*, harassed the country, burnt *Canterbury*, and made a martyr of archbishop *Ephegus*: in short, as *Malmesbury* reports, sixteen of the thirty two counties in *England*, lay in a great measure at the enemies mercy; the war was followed with famine, and the *English* gave the enemy yet greater presents of money, to withdraw their forces.

Tho' there were some dawns of the conversion of the *Danes* to Christianity, in the former century, as has been already narrated, yet a work of this kind is not soon perfected, if an apostolick spirit be wanting. We shall find some further progress in this affair, in this age; but they were a very rugged people, and difficult to be managed: for about the year 913, these *Barbarians* joined with the *Vandals*, and made an incursion into *Hamburg*, demolished the church, and scattered the Christians; which was the fourth time they ruined that city, since it became Christian, as *Crantz* observes *. The first was in the time of *Charlemagne*; the second when *Ansgarius* was made to flee to *Ramsola*; the third while *Rembert* presided over the Christians there; and now was the fourth time, when they treated the Christian Churches with all manner of *Barbarity* and *Contempt*; as they did twice in the following century, viz. in the years 1000 and 1066 †. *Gormo* king of *Denmark* did what he could to extirpate Christianity out of his country; he banished all the priests, and killed many of them by cruel torments ‡. *Henry*, the first of that name, emperor of *Germany*, surnamed the *Fowler*, having reduced *Arnould* duke of *Bavaria*, and overcome the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians* and *Sclavonians*,

* Metropolis Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Pag. 69.

† Ibidem cap. 3.

‡ Crantzii Metropolis, Lib. 3. cap. 5. Pag. 71.

Sclavonians, entered *Denmark* with a powerful army, in the year 931, and so terrified *Gormo*, as he was willing to be at peace with him upon any terms. *Unni*, a venerable bishop at *Hamburg*, took hold of this occasion to promote Religion, where he found it not so easy to bring over *Gormo* to Christianity, tho' he was married to *Tirra*, a religious woman he had got in *England*; but by his preaching, exhortations and good conduct, he gained his son *Harold*, the young prince, to be zealous for our holy Religion. Having ordained bishops and priests in *Denmark*, and instructed and edified many with whom some seeds of Christianity were remaining, he sailed to *Birca* in *Swedeland*; where, from the time of *Ansgarius*, for seventy years, they had almost no body to instruct them, except a little time *Rembert* had been among them. When *Unni* had done all he could for the instruction of this barbarous people, he died among them in the year 936*. *Adaldag* succeeded him in the bishoprick of *Hamburg*; he had formerly preached in *Denmark*, and was admitted to familiar access with king *Harold*: the *Danes* refusing to perform the conditions of peace they had promised to king *Henry*, *Otho* the first, his successor, marched an army against them; having obtained the victory, king *Harold* engaged as one of the conditions of peace, to establish Christianity in his kingdom; his wife *Eunichild*, with his son *Sueno*, were baptized; the emperor called his son *Zuen Otto* †: three bishopricks were erected in *Denmark*; one *Harold* was ordained bishop of *Sleswick*, *Liafdag* of *Rypen*, and *Rembrand* of *Arthusen* ‡, to whom the *Danish* islands were also subjected: this was a beginning of a Christian church in *Denmark*, which remains even to this day. *Crantz* says †, That *Adaldag* sat bishop of *Hamburg* 54 years, even to the time of the Emperor *Otho* the third; that he ordained a great many more bishops for *Denmark*, whose names he mentions, but the seats to which

* *Crantz* Metropolis Lib 3. cap. 6. & cap. 16. Pag. 78.

† *Crantzii* Metropolis. Pag. 79.

‡ *Ibidem*.

‡ *Ibidem* cap. 38. Pag. 93.

which they were fixed, are not upon record, since they went from place to place preaching the Gospel, and instructing souls where they might have prospect of success. It seems these bishops were very laborious. *Odin-car* the elder and younger went to *Sweden* and *Norway*, to promote the kingdom of Christ. *Zueno* or *Zuen Otto*, the son of *Harold*, tho' baptized in his youth, yet when he came to the kingdom, persecuted the Christians, but was defeated in battle by *Erick*. In his time, the Gospel made some progress in *Norway*, *Olaus* the son of king *Truton* being baptized ** ; preachers were also sent to *Swedeland*. Upon the death of *Erick*, *Zueno* again got possession of the kingdom of *Denmark*, and was more favourable to the Christians. About this time the Gospel went to *Pomeran* *, and those places of *Germany*, that lie upon the *Baltick* sea ; but that country was not then by far so populous, nor had so great cities, as at this day.

In *Poland* there were some small beginnings of Christianity in the former century, but the national conversion of that kingdom, was in the tenth age. *Miceslaus* king of the *Poles* having married *Dambrowka* a Christian princess, daughter to *Boleslaus* duke of *Bobemia* ; when she was brought home to *Guesna* with a great retinue, *Miceslaus* himself embraced Christianity, and was baptized in the year 965. After this, he applied himself to promote the interest of our holy Religion, both in *Poland* and *Silesia*, which last was then part of his kingdom. He took care to build, adorn and enrich churches in cities and villages, every one being more zealous than another, to advance so good a work. Some of these churches, says *Regenvolscius*, who wrote in the seventeenth century †, remain to this day, as one at *Lublin*, another at *Sendomir*, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, adorned with pictures, after the fashion of the *Greeks*, who were the first preachers of the Christian Religion in that kingdom, and also in *Bobemia* and

* Crantzii Metropolis, Lib. 3. cap. 44. pag. 98.

* Ibidem Lib. 3. cap. 30. pag. 88.

† Hist. Eccl. Slavonicarum, Trajecti 1652. pag. 8, 9.

and *Moravia*; and after, *Cyrillus* and *Methodius* explained Religion, according to the rites of the *Greek Church*, from which regions, many ecclesiasticks were brought into *Poland*. It was then the custom of the *Poles*, that when the Gospel was read by the priests at the altar, they drew their swords half out of the scabbards, as declaring they would defend their holy profession at all hazards; and when the people did answer, *Glory to the Lord*, they put them up again: which custom long remained in that country. The first reformer of the church in *Poland*, was called *Woyciech*; he was the second bishop of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, was educated in the *Greek church*, and became the apostle and teacher of the *Poles*; he went to preach the Gospel in *Prussia*, where he was murdered by those *Barbarians*, April 23d, 997. *Miceslaus* the first Christian King in *Poland*, died in the year 999. The Religion of the *Poles* was then more conformable to the Gospel, than to the rites, traditions and customs contrary to the Word of God, afterward introduced by the church of *Rome*.

In this age the Christian Religion was introduced into *Moscovy*: 'tis indeed alledged, that *Andrew the Apostle*, leaving *Greece*, sailed up the river *Borysthenes*, and came to *Novogrod*, and there preached the Gospel. But Christianity was afterwards extirpated out of *Moscovy*, by *Pagans* who made themselves masters of the country, till in the year 989 *, Prince *Woldimar*, then duke of *Russia*, gave the pagans a signal overthrow, and reunited several provinces to his crown, that had been dismembred from it; he became so famous for his great achievements, that *Basilius* and *Constantine Porphyrogeniti*, emperors of *Constantinople*, sent ambassadors to congratulate his success: by their conversation and instructions, and by the marriage of *Anna*, sister to these emperors, in the year 990, he was induced to embrace the Christian Faith. *John Curopolata*, who wrote a part
of

* *Crull's present State of Moscovy*, printed at London 1698, Vol. I.
Chap. 2.

of the *Byzantine* history, in the eleventh century, as also *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, who wrote after him, attribute the conversion of the *Russians* to a miracle, performed by a bishop that was sent thither by the patriarch of *Constantinople*, to instruct and baptize the people. These infidels having objected to him, that since God preserved *Daniel's* companions in the fiery furnace, why might not, with the same, or more reason, the Bible be preserved by God's power, from being consumed in the fire? The bishop having told them, he was assured he could not ask any thing of God by prayer, but what he would obtain, threw the Bible into a great fire made for that purpose, where it remained till the fire was all spent, and was taken out as intire and untouched, as when it was cast in. At which, *Woldimar* being moved, abolished idolatry, and in the room therof, planted Christianity in all his territories.

The *Russians* deduce the origin of their Religion from the *Greek* church, tho' they differ in many rites from them; they shew abundance of respect to the *Greeks*, which the poor *Grecian* monks, who frequently come from other parts into *Moscovy*, know how to improve to their own advantage. They found their Religion upon the Books of the Old and New Testament; they do not bring the whole Bible into the church, tho' they are allowed to read it at home, but they carry only the New Testament, and some chosen places of the *Psalms* and Prophets to the church. About sixty years ago, says my author *, they got the Bible translated into the *Russian* language; whereas they pretend they follow the footsteps of the seventy interpreters. They have also a book, they call, *The history of the Gospel*, but adulterated with fables. As to the explication of the holy Scriptures, they follow *Cyril* bishop of *Jerusalem*, *John Damascen*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Ephraim the Syrian*. The creed of *Athanasius* is the confession of their Faith; but they have received a great many superstitious

* *Cruik's* present State of *Moscovy*, printed at *London* 1698.
Vol. 1. cap. 11.

perstitious rites, and place the centre of their devotion rather in outward ceremonies, than in the internal part of Religion. They pay their veneration to the Virgin *Mary*, the Evangelists and Apostles, and to a great number of other saints, not only as intercessors, but as co-operators, says the same author *, of their salvation ; for they pay to their saints and images all the honour due to God Almighty. There is never a family, how small soever, in *Moscovy*, but what hath its tutelar saint's image, to whom their ignorant people pay their daily devotion ; and all the religious instruction they give to their children, consists in no more, than to stand up with a great respect and say their prayers before these images. As to the rest of the Religion of the *Moscovites*, they place a great excellency in good works, which they believe to be meritorious, as building of monasteries and churches, giving alms, &c. In baptism, they dip their children in cold water, use godfathers and godmothers, and baptize much after the rites of the *Greek* church, whom they also imitate in administering the Lord's Supper ; they mix warm water with wine, according to the council of *Constantinople*, signifying the water that came forth with the blood from our Saviour's side ; they give both kinds at once to communicants †. Their fasts and festivals, for number and manner of observation, are much the same with the *Greek* church, only the *Russians* have rather more of them. There are few days in the year but what are dedicated to one saint or another. For these fifty years past they are more strict in observing Fast-days and *Sundays* than before ; for by edicts from the patriarch, they are not to open shops, or sell *Aquavitæ* on those days. They do not make use in their service of any sermons or instructions to their auditors, but only read passages out of the Bible, and some homilies ; yet go to church thrice a day. They suffer not any images that are carved or graven either

* *Crull's* present State of *Moscovy*.

† See *Harris's* compleat Collection of Travels, Vol. 2. pag. 238, & seq.

in churches or houses, because these are forbidden in the *Decalogue*; only they use images painted with oil upon wood, not done by foreigners, but by men of their own Religion, who have no good skill in limning: however, they have abundance of these images in their churches, with wax candles burning before them, and are at pains to learn to cross themselves by art when they come near them. Those of their churches that are of stone, are all round and vaulted, because, say they, such are liker to heaven, and they have a cross on the top. They allow no strangers nor a dog to come within their churches; if they do, great care is taken to purify the temple. They are most severe in their abstinence and mortifications on fast days and Lent; but when these are over, make great debauches, as also in the first week of long Lent.

The *Muscovite* hierarchy consists of one patriarch, who resides in the city of *Moscow*, four metropolitans, seven archbishops, and one bishop, with a great number of archdeacons, protopopes and priests. The patriarch has the same, if not a greater authority than the pope in the *Latin* Church: Such is his power in all matters of Religion, that he reforms whatever he thinks prejudicial to Religion or good manners, without giving any account to the *Czar*; yet not so, but his orders must be put in execution by the *Czar's* commands. The patriarch of *Constantinople* had heretofore the nomination of the patriarch of *Moscow*, till, in process of time, he had only the confirmation; at present he has lost both, and the patriarch is chosen by the *Czar* and the prelates. The *Moscovites* pay great respect to the priests Calotte, tho' when they're angry, they'll pull off the Calotte and cudgel the priest, and when this is done, put it on again with great respect; and they are liable to no other punishment than if they had cudgell'd a laick. The patriarch, metropolitans, archbishops, and the bishop, are not allowed to marry as long as they continue in that dignity; but the protopopes, popes, and temple priests are not only allowed, but obliged to marry once, and that a maid, not a widow. A priest,

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after

after his wife dies, is not allowed to administer the Sacrament, or assist at noon-service, or bless a marriage, only to assist at morning and evening service ; neither can he marry a second time, unless he lay down his cassock and calotte, and turn laick. There are a great many monasteries all over *Moscovy*, both for men and women, in city and country ; beside the *Anchorites*, who build their chapels on highways, and live in woods like hermits, subsisting only on alms from travellers, following the rule of *St. Basil*. The liberal endowments of monasteries is now in some measure curbed ; for those who go to them are allowed only to take a certain part of their estates with them, and leave the rest to their heirs ; they do not live so close in them, but they come often abroad, and follow the employments of other peasants. Poverty, old age, infirmities, and domestick contests, are the chief inducements of those that embrace this life, few chusing it out of devotion. And 'tis no wonder, since most of them, according to the general education of the *Moscovites*, can scarce read or write ; not one in ten can say the *Lord's Prayer*, and those of them who are acquainted with the *Creed* and *Ten Commandments*, are looked on as men of great learning. But the present Czar or Emperor of *Russia*, is endeavouring to oblige his subjects to make improvements in knowledge and learning, of which we may hear more afterward *. So far concerning the conversion of the *Moscovites* to Christianity, and of their Religion.

In this century 'tis recorded, that *Methodius* archbishop of *Moravia*, converted *Worzyvoi* the last pagan duke of *Bohemia*, with his wife *Ludomilla*, and that they were baptized in the year 905 †. *Liptineus* king of *Bohemia* became a christian in the year 921 ‥, and promoted our Religion in his dominions. The Emperor *Otho* restored the Christian Religion in *Sclavonia*, and many churches were with great diligence erected there ‡.

* Near the End of Chapter VIII.

† Shedelius apud Cent. Magdeburg, Cent. 10. cap. 2. pag. 8.

‥ Ibid.

‡ Ibid. pag. 10.

Eric Stenchil King of *Sweden*, took care to enlarge the kingdom of *Christ* in his dominions. Providence blessed his endeavours; for 'tis recorded *, that while a heathenish priest was offering sacrifice, he was struck with blindness, so as he could not see to go on with his work, but was obliged to acknowledge the justice of God, and turning to *Christ*, miraculously received his sight. Thankful for so great a deliverance, he rejected heathenish idolatry, and became a preacher of the Gospel; the people were so much affected, that with great zeal multitudes embraced *Christianity*, and were baptized. King *Eric* obtained two other teachers from the archbishop of *Bremen*, *Adalvard* and *Steven*, men famous for piety and learning, to whom he committed the care of the churches. Thus in a little time the church of *Christ* increased, and heathenish idolatry was extirpated in that kingdom; especially since *Olaus*, furnamed *Schot-Konig*, did not only imitate his father *Eric*, but did even exceed him in piety and zeal for Religion.

The conversion of the *Normans* in this century, deserves also to be noticed. They were a people who came from the *North*, as their name imports; having, with their pyracies, infested the sea-coasts of several countries, at last they landed in *France* in the reign of *Charles the Bald*, and dreadfully wasted and ruined that country for eighty years, obliging the *French* to pay tribute; and these sums of money served only to allure them the more to make their incursions. At length, they got possession of *Neustria* or *Normandy*; they seized *Roan*, and laid siege to *Paris*, so affrighting the inhabitants of that great city, that they made it a part of their publick prayers, *That God would please to deliver them from the fury of the Normans*. The bishops of *Rheims* and *Roan* thought the best way to tame this savage enemy was, to persuade them to embrace *Christianity*. Some few of them were baptized, but they soon returned to their old infidelity. King *Charles the Simple* made a treaty with

* *Olai magni Hist. Goth.* apud Cent. Magdeburg, ubi supra pag. 9. —

with them, and gave his daughter *Giesla* in marriage to *Rollo* their commander, and bestowed upon him the province of *Normandy*, with the title of a *Duke*, upon condition of doing homage for it to the king of *France*. This was done in the year 912. *Rollo* submitted himself to be instructed and baptized by *Franco* archbishop of *Rheims*, taking the name of *Robert*. A great part of the *Normans* followed the example of their leader, and embraced Christianity, and with the Religion, received also the language and manners of the *French* *. The *Normans* have so great an esteem for their first duke, that in any strait they seem to call him to their assistance, in a common exclamation, *Ha Row*, used only by themselves.

I proceed now to the eleventh Century. About the year 1001, Christianity made a considerable progress in the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the assistance of some *English* priests, who, at the desire of *Olaf* or *Olaus* king of *Sweden*, were sent by *Ethelred* king of *England*. The heads of the mission were *Sigefrid* archdeacon of *York*, *Eschil*, *Gunickild*, *Rudolf*, and *Bernard* †. These holy men were very successful in their undertaking, answered the King's expectation, and made idolatry give way wherever they came.

The *Danes* made many ravages in *England* in the beginning of this century, even tho' many of them now professed *Christianity*; particularly upon the taking of *Canterbury*, in the year 1011, where *Epbegus* the bishop suffered martyrdom, which is very pathetically described by *Collier* ‖. But about the year 1042, the country was cleared of these oppressors, and after this was no more troubled with invasions or depredations of *Pagans*.

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Before

* Flodoardus in *Rhemenſi Historia*, Lib. 4. *Francorum Annales* apud Spanhemium in *Hist. Christiana*, Col. 1422. *Morery's Dictionary* on the Word *Normandy*.

† Adam Bremen, Lib. 2. cap. 40. Olai magni *Histor. Goth.* Lib. 17. cap. 20. apud *Collier's Hist. of Britain*, Vol. 1. pag. 206.

‖ *Collier's History of Britain*, Vol. 1. pag. 209, 210.

Before I leave *England*, allow me to observe, That *William of Normandy*, by his victory over King *Harold*, in the year 1066, procured at one blow the crown of *England*, and the surname of *Conqueror*. After this *Norman* conquest and downward, Christianity was still kept up in that nation ; they never degenerated into heathenism or infidelity ; tho' King *John* is said to have offered to forsake *Christianity* and become *Mahometan*, if he could obtain assistance in his designs from *Miramumalim* the *Moor*, the great king of *Africa*, *Morocco* and *Spain* : but it was a very corrupt Christianity that prevailed in these times, Religion was full of superstition, idolatry and ignorance ; ecclesiastical tyranny and cruelty prevailed. Yet even then, when things were at the worst, there wanted not some who had brighter and more scriptural notions of things divine, and were zealous for pure and scriptural worship ; particularly in the reign of *Edward III.* between the years 1370 and 1380, that great man *Wickliff*, was raised up by God in that land, to oppose the corruptions of the church of *Rome* ; and he had many followers, who were called *Lollards*, by way of contempt, yet continued down to the time of the *Reformation*, both in *England* and *Scotland*. They were so inflamed with zeal, that no severities used against them could be able to extirpate them ; several of our princes and great men favoured them, in opposition to the pope, and his tyrannical encroachments, of which they were weary. The scripture was translated into our mother tongue, and read by many ; and such seeds of sacred truth were dispersed, and sown in various quarters of the land, as sprang up many years after, and helped to produce a plentiful harvest, when Almighty God, to show forth his glory, brought about the *Reformation* from *Popery* ; the benefit of which is yet enjoyed, and may posterity after us do the same for ever. These things happened in different ages.

To return to the propagation of *Christianity*, and overthrow of *Paganism* in the eleventh century : *Albert Krantz* informs us *, That *Canutus* king of *Denmark* returning

* *Metropolis Lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 103.*

returning conqueror out of *England*, brought several bishops from that country, of whom he made *Bernard* bishop in *Schonen*, *Gerbrand* in *Zealand*, and *Reiner* in *Finland*. The bishop of *Schonen* may be the same *Bernard* spoke of before, but the rest of the names differ. Thus Christianity did increase in *Denmark*, tho' *Crantz* observes *, they sometimes apostatized, as in the year 1066, but were again restored to the profession of our holy Religion.

Unni bishop of *Hamburg* found many reliques of *Paganism* in his diocese; the people yet worshipped in groves: all which he removed. *Crantz* says †, That *Albert*, archbishop of *Hamburg*, ordained and sent bishops to the remote northern countries of *Iceland* and *Groenland*, saying, *The harvest is great, the labourers few, pray the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers into his vineyard.*

We have formerly observed some beginnings of a Christian church in *Hungary* in the eighth century, and 'tis also reported, that King *Geyza* founded some churches there in the tenth age; yet the nobility and great men adhered to the worship of heathenish idols, which was publickly practised. But our Redeemer, in this century, did, with an outstretched arm, make conquest in that kingdom, raising up pious rulers, and a zealous clergy to promote his interests. *Adalbert* bishop of *Prague*, with his companions, did sow the seed of the Word in many places of that nation; he instructed and baptized King *Stephen* ‥. *Astrie* with his disciples erected a monastery near the foot of the iron mines; he opened a school, and set many teachers to work. *Bonifacius* preached in the lower *Hungary*. King *Stephen*, by strict laws, commanded idolatry to be abolished, and Christianity to be publickly professed, ordering severe punishments against blasphemers and contumacious opposers of Religion; he erected several bishopricks, which are said to have been confirmed by the pope's authority.

* Metropolis Lib. 4. cap. ult. pag. 132.

† Ibidem Lib. 5. cap. 18. pag. 150, 151,

‡ Cent. Magdeburg, Cent. XI. cap. 2. pag. 9.

authority. In all this the King was much encouraged by his Queen *Giesla*, the daughter of the Emperor *Henry II.* She was a zealous *Christian*, and stirred up her husband to promote our Religion thro' his whole dominions; so as about the year 1010, the body of that people began to be instructed and baptized, and many churches and monasteries were founded and erected. In *Alba Regalis* a church was built to the Virgin *Mary*; for the superstition of the church of *Rome* did then very far prevail. The monastery of *Peter* and *Paul* was set up at *Buda*. *Giula* the prince of *Transylvania* being defeated and taken prisoner, the people, either by force, or willingly professed *Christianity*; the prince himself, with his wife and children, were baptized, and set at liberty. The *Bulgarians* were also subdued by King *Stephen*, and persuaded to profess *Christianity* *. *Misca* a duke in *Poland*, with his people, were about the same time converted. The people of *Misnia* were persuaded to receive the Gospel, by *Wilbert* bishop of *Mersburg*, about the year 1007 †.

In the reign of *Andrew* king of *Hungary*, some *Hungarians* shewed their inclination to return to *Paganism*; but the king, by a just edict, did command all his subjects not to desert *Christianity*, which they had embraced under the reign of *Stephen* his predecessor, and gave orders to build and repair churches and monasteries. In the year 1047, King *Stephen* was canonized a saint; the church of *Rome* have many fabulous stories about him || in their legends.

Since we are now upon the progress of Christianity, by the decay of infidelity, 'tis not far out of our road, to observe the triumphs of *Christians* against *Mahometans*. The *Saracens* had got footing in *Sicily*, and their governors, who were called *Emirs*, maintained themselves at
Palermo,

* Bonfinius Dec. 2. Lib. 9. apud Magdeburgenses, Cent. XI. cap. 2.

† Chronicon Mersburgense ibidem.

|| Vide Spanhemii filii Hist. Christianam, in Folio, Col. 1512, —

Palermo, from 827 to 1070, when they were driven thence by the *Normans*, under the conduct of *Robert*, *Guichard* and *Roger*. The last of these erected a little monarchy there, he was father of *William I.* surnamed *The Bad*; his daughter *Constance* transferred the kingdom to the Emperor *Henry VI.* her husband: but I am not to meddle with the various revolutions in that island. In the year 969, the Emperor *Otho* the Great did beat the *Saracens* out of *Italy*, and the isle of *Crete*, now called *Candia*; greater advantages had been gained over them, if the emperors at *Constantinople* had improved their opportunity, but their ambition and intestine commotions did extinguish all endeavours for the publick good. The *Genoese* and *Pisans* recovered *Sardinia* from these infidels. In the eleventh century, the *Saracen* kingdom of *Cordova* began to decline and vanish, two hundred and sixty-nine years after it was founded. The kings of *Castile* and *Portugal* prospered against these infidels, who being divided into many little kingdoms, were more easily ruined: So as the *Christians*, about the year 1150, did recover out of their hands the kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Murcia*, *Carthage*, *Alicant*, *Cordova*, *Sevil*, with some other considerable places; and nothing remained to the *Moors* in *Spain*, but only the kingdom of *Granada*, which they retained till the fifteenth century, when they were chased out of it by *Ferdinand* the Great, or the *Catholic*.

I don't design to insist upon the history of the *Holy War*, by which the *Saracen* empire sustained a mighty shock: only upon this head shall observe, that *Peter* the hermit, a clergyman in *Picardy*, having travelled to *Jerusalem*, and being affected with the lamentable state of *Christians* there, groaning under the oppression of *Saracens*, and that the holy city, and sepulchre of our Lord, were in the hands of *infidels*; he so represented the matter to the pope, and he to the *Christian* princes in *Europe*, promising pardon of sins, and entrance into paradise, to all who would undertake to recover these holy places from the hands of *infidels*; as incredible numbers

numbers were raised over all *Europe*, who with innumerable hazards and losses went into *Palestine*, where *Godfrey of Bulloign* took *Jerusalem* in the year 1099, and possessed it a considerable time ; but all his successors, and all Christian princes, were driven from it in the year 1298. During these two hundred years, 'tis almost incredible what numbers of Christians perished by sword, famine, pestilence, and other calamities, in that, to call it no worse, so ill-concerted expedition ; and in the end, all their conquests turned to nothing. *M. Chevreau* * calls the number of those who lost their lives in that war, on the Christian side, five hundred thousand ; tho', if we enter into a detail of particulars, I conceive there will be found a great deal more. Nothing but ruin could be expected, when the Christians left the body of the *Mahometan* kingdoms behind them, and had no communication with their friends in the West, but by a long tract of sea ; when princes left their own kingdoms to the pope to exercise his tyranny over them, and did not aim to ruin the infidels, but only to recover some holy places about *Jerusalem*, to favour papal superstition. Thus, I have at once given a short view of some events concerning these *Mahometan* infidels, tho' they happened in different centuries.

There were still some parts of *Europe*, where the dregs of *Paganism* remained, which were in a great measure removed in the twelfth century. The inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*, in the *Baltick* sea, on the coast of *Pomerania*, near *Stralsund*, had professed Christianity about the year 813, and received baptism, after they were defeated by *Eric* king of *Denmark* ; but they relapsed again into *Paganism*, and continued in that apostasy till about the year 1168 †. *Woldimar* king of *Denmark* having reduced their garrisons to his obedience, and subdued their island, he obliged them to renounce idolatry, to set all Christians who were their

* Hist. du Monde, Part 3.

† Crantzius in *Vandalia*, lib. 5. cap. 15, 16. Cent. magd. Cent. 12. pag. 3. pag. 13.

their prisoners at liberty, and to receive priests, who should dispense to them the mysteries of the Christian Religion, according to the rites of the church of *Denmark*. *Jaremarus* their prince being baptized, taught his people the principles of religion, and the body of that barbarous island was brought to some more sense of piety.

Eric king of *Swedeland* having subdued *Finland*, did promote Christianity in that country *; it seems these Northern princes, now that they were become Christians themselves, had such a zealous regard to religion, as to propagate it among others who continued in *Paganism*.

Livonia being subdued by *Christian Princes*, was converted to the faith by *Meinardus*, about the year 1186; he was ordained by the archbishop of *Bremen*, and went with some merchants of *Lubeck* into *Livonia*, where, having fixed his habitation, he taught the people the doctrine of religion †. *Bertboldus* about the year 1190, was very useful to promote the conversion of that country; he was abbot of the *Livonian* knights; which order was instituted to promote the conversion of these *Barbarians* ‖, who being dull and obstinate, 'tis said the rough way of the sword, that the knights used, was more effectual than the remonstrances of the priests. This order was united to the *Teutonick*, or the knights of *Prussia*, in 1234, and was abolished by *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, in the year 1587.

The country near *Lubeck*, is recorded to have been converted to Christianity by *Vicelinus*, a priest, sent thither by the archbishop of *Bremen*, about the year 1134 ‡.

Boleslaus duke of *Poland*, having defeated the *Pomeranians*, with great slaughter, carried many of them into captivity; others who promised to embrace Christianity,

* Cent. Magdeb. cent. 12. cap. 3. pag. 13.

† Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 3. Sæc. 12. Sect. 3. pag. 234. Crantz. Vandalia, lib. 6. cap. 6.

‖ Great Historical Dictionary, Edition 1694. in *Livonia*.

‡ Crantzii Metropolis, cap. 11—14. pag. 170—172.

Christianity, were left with their prince at home ; and *Otho*, bishop of *Bamberg**, preached the Gospel to them, which was effectual, thro' the blessing of God, to their conversion. The *Magdeburgick Centuriators*†, have the copy of the letter of *Boleslaus*, to this bishop, encouraging him in this work, and fix the time thereof about the year 1125.

Crantzius tells us ‖, *That the Vandals made a lamentable apostasy into Paganism, which continued eighty-four years, that is, from 1066, to 1150, when they returned to Christianity, and never again made an intire defection from it.* The same author informs us‡, *That about this time Benno bishop of Mecklenburg, found Nicholtus prince of that country, with his sons, serving heathenish idols, whom he endeavoured to reform, and persuade to embrace our holy religion.* I conceive we need not think it strange, that some of these people apostatised, when we consider that many of them who then embraced our religion, were not instructed therein, nor had ever tasted the sweet power and efficacy thereof upon their own spirit ; and were gained to abandon heathenish idols, and profess the truth, by such rugged methods as we have heard of, rather than by the sweet calm voice of the Gospel, rationally enlightning the mind, and persuading the soul to embrace our Redeemer.

In the thirteenth Century, almost all *Europe*, and many other parts of the world, had then received the Christian Faith, yet in some places our religion made a further progress. *Ferdinand III.* king of *Spain*, did beat the *Infidel Mahometan Saracens* out of the island *Majorca***, and the city *Valencia*, which did again receive Christianity about the year 1227. The *Danes* did promote our religion in *Esthonia*, and settled a bishoprick at *Revel*††.

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* Ibidem lib. 6. cap. 5. pag. 167.

† Cent. 12. cap. 2. ‖ Metropolis, lib. 6. cap. 27.

‡ Ibidem, cap. 39. page 187. ———

** Cent. Magdeb. Cent. 13. cap. 2. page 3. †† Ibidem.

It is also recorded by historians *, that in this century some *Tartarians* submitted to Christ. *Haiton*, king of *Armenia*, observing the *Saracens* to increase to such mighty power in *Palestine*, was afraid of them, and sent his brother to *Mango*, the great Chan of *Tartary*. He having obtained a safe conduct, comes to court, and persuaded the great Chan to embrace the Christian Religion, and oppose the *Mahometans*, and obtained a great army, with which he returned to the assistance of his brother. Others say †, that some *Tartarian* princes in *Asia* received the Christian Religion, and did great things in *Syria* and *Persia*, in conjunction with their allies the *Armenians*, against the *Saracens* and *Egyptians*; one of them was called *Cassanus*, and his successors in *Persia* retained that name. Other authors say ‡, that *Mongu* Chan of *Tartary*, the fifth after *Ginlis* Chan, was converted by his wife, daughter of *Haiton* king of *Armenia*, and baptized with his brother *Alan* or *Heilon*, with his whole family; that *Alan* led an army into *Palestine*, having on his standard the image of Christ crucified, to recover *Jerusalem* from the *Infidels*. However, in a little time the *Tartars* revolted to their infidelity, for at this day most part of them are *Mahometans* or *Pagans*. *Hottinger* calls them *Sagomorbarei*, because they have one *Sagomorbar* Chan for their great prophet, (as the *Turks* have *Mahomet* :) he left them many of his dictates concerning one God, and relating to their policy and manners. Among the constitutions the successors of *Ginlis* Chan swear to observe, even to this day, this is one, *That they will not persecute the Christians, nor exact more tribute from them than others*. *Hottinger* § imputes the cause of their apostasy to the superstitions the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* popish missionaries imposed upon these new converts; which is even owned by *Bezovius*. The learned *Spanheim* doubts of the truth of the whole story **; but I don't see any solid reason

* *Hottinger* Hist. Eccl. parte 4. pag. 517. and Authors there cited.

† *Genebrard*, pag. 635.

‡ *Cromeri* Pol. lib. 9. pag. 685. apud *Hottinger*. ubi supra.

§ *Hottinger*, ut supra, pag. 518.

** *Spanhemii* F. *Historia Christiana*, Folio, Col. 1696.

reason for questioning the whole, even tho' authors have different ways of telling it. There are even to this day many Christians scattered up and down *Tartary*, and too many of them tainted with the *Nestorian* heresy*.

The inhabitants of *Prussia*, or *Borussia*, continued long in heathenish idolatry; but in this century, the knights of the *Teutonic* order, returning from the holy war in *Syria*, took possession of their country, about the year 1230†; they built the city *Marienburg* in *Royal Prussia*, and are said to have propagated Christianity there; at least, to make that people subject to *Gregory IX.* then pope of *Rome*.

About the same time, the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* made a noble appearance for the purity of doctrine, worship, and government of the church of Christ, in opposition to the corruptions of the church of *Rome*; many of them resisted to the blood, and were slain for the testimony which they held. But my design limits me to the propagating of Christianity among heathens: And therefore, I go to

The fourteenth Century, in which there were too many remainders of paganism, since there were any; but alas! the clergy, whose work it ought to have been to promote the light of the Gospel, did rather confirm people in their error, than bring them into the right way: The ignorance, delusion, and idolatry of the church of *Rome*, had so corrupted the minds and manners of men, that they had no thought of the great interests of religion; and therefore, there is little to be remarked of the conversions of nation in this age.

The people in the great dukedom of *Lithuania*, were among the last in *Europe*, who remained in heathenish idolatry. *Keckerman* says ||, *The Lithuanians were devoted to the superstitious worship of many Gods, or rather devils; for they adored fire, they gave divine honour*
to

* *Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica*, lib. 2. pag. 176.

† *Spanhemii F. Hist. Christiana*, Col. 1645.

|| *Systema Log. Plen. P. 2.* pag. 461. *Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Vol. 3.* Sæc. 14. pag. 867.

to thunder, which they called *Perunum*; they so esteemed groves, and some stately trees in woods, as it was criminal to lift an ax against them; if any body presumed to do it, they said, the devil would inflict some strange punishment upon him; they believed vipers and serpents to be a sort of deities; they kept them like household goods, and offered them milk and cocks; the whole family was threatened with ruin, if any of them were killed; they had a solemn sacrifice in October, after harvest, where they convened with their wives, children, and servants, and feasted upon those things they had offered and sacrificed to these gods: When they returned from wars, they burnt the spoils they had taken, and one of the prisoners in the fire. Jagello, great duke of *Lithuania*, married *Hedwige*, daughter of the king of *Poland*, on these terms, that he should become Christian; and failing heirs male, should be king of *Poland*. In performance of these articles, he was baptized February 12th, 1386, and was created king of *Poland*, by the name of *Uladislaus V.* and enjoyed that crown forty-eight years. He erected a bishoprick at *Vilna*, the metropolis of *Lithuania*, and with the assistance of the clergy, did extirpate heathenish idolatry, and propagate Christianity there*. *Lithuania* was, for ever, united to the crown of *Poland*, in the year 1569; tho' popery be the established religion, yet there are many protestants in that country, to whose assistance, in their distressed condition, the Church of Scotland did send, a few years ago, a noble charitable supply.

About the end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century, *Tamerlane*, or *Timur-Lenc*, as *Hottinger*, from *Arabian* authors calls him †, made a great figure in the world: He was not born of a shepherd, nor infamous for robbery, as the *Turkish* and *Saracene* authors, who mightily hate him, do report; but was a prince of the posterity of *Zinbis-Chan*, who reigned in *Zagathai*, in the western parts of *Tartary*,
where

* *Hottinger*, ubi supra. *Conor's History of Poland*, Vol. I. Letter 2.

† *Hist. Eccl. Sæc. 15. de Gingis Chanismo.*

where the city *Samarchand* was their royal seat ; after with triumphant arms he had subdued many rich provinces, at the desire of *Manuel* the Greek emperor at *Constantinople*, and other Christian Princes, who had been over-run and oppressed by *Bajazet* the fourth king of the *Turks*, he came into the lesser *Asia*, with an army of eight hundred thousand men, by whom he intirely routed *Bajazet*, in the great battle near Mount *Stella*, the particulars whereof are largely deduced by *Knolls**, and other historians. *Bajazet* himself was taken prisoner, and as a just recompence of his intolerable pride, ended his life in miserable slavery. After this victory, *Timur-Lenc* subdued all *Tartary*, *Persia*, and a great part of *India*, and lived till he was near ninety years of age, shewing great favour to the Christians, and especially to learned men. The *Great Moguls* in the *East Indies* are descended of his posterity. 'Tis also recorded of this mighty *Tamerlane*†, *That he conquered the Moscovites, brought China under his power, and by his victories over the Turks, established the Greek emperor in his dominions, and subdued Egypt ; he had with him many Christians, skilful in several arts and sciences, whom he brought from all places where he had been with his armies. Axalla a Genoese, who had been bred up with him, was a Christian, and in great favour and authority under him. The Christians were his best and chiefest soldiers, upon whom he most relied ; he reposed as much trust and confidence in them, as in his natural subjects, and more than in the most zealous Mahometans. He gave out orders all over his vast empire, that Christians should have the free exercise of their religion, and that Christ should be honoured and revered by all men ; and the Christian worship was daily performed in his army. This emperor had in his dominions many countries where the inhabitants were all Christians ; and he commanded the Christians should be every where used with as much respect and esteem, as those of the Mahometan religion.* The

* History of the *Turks*, Page 216, & sequentibus.

† History of *Tamerlane*, by *Sanctyon*, chap. 2, 7. cited by *Fenkyns*, in his Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, Volume I. Pages 110, 111.

The people of *Samogitia* remained pagans till the beginning of the fifteenth Century ; their superstition was much of the same kind with that of *Lithuania* above described. Those who are curious, may see more of it in *Hottinger* * and *Gothofredus* †. Their country is bounded on the *North* by *Courland* ; on the *East* by *Lithuania* ; on the *South* by *Ducal Prussia* ; and on the *West* by the *Baltick Sea* ; its length from *East* to *West*, is thirty-five *German* miles, but its breadth is not answerable. *Uladislaus* king of *Poland* demolished their idols, and taught them the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Creed*, because none of his priests understood then their language ‖. He founded some churches among them, and sent priests afterward to instruct them. Their first bishop was called *Matthias* ; he was born at *Vilna*, and understood exactly the *Lithuanian* and *Samogitian* dialect. They are something barbarous to this very day, being inclined to divinations, charms, and force-ries, and frequently abused by diabolical illusions ‡.

The improvement of arts and sciences, the reviving of learning, buried under popish darkness and superstition, in former ages, and the discoveries made by the art of navigation, in the formerly unknown parts of the world, in this Century were happy means for advancing the kingdom of Christ over the world ; of which we shall have occasion to discourse more fully afterward. Mean time we may observe, that the *Canary* islands were discovered by the Baron *de Bevenmour* a *Frenchman*, and by the *Sieur de la Salle*, who arrived there, *July* 1402, who made himself master of them, and came in person to do homage for them to the king of *Spain*, because he was the nearest Christian Prince. When the *French* came thither, the inhabitants had no other weapons but arrows and darts, and were all idolaters, worshipping the sun and stars ; *Polygamy* was allowed and used thro' all the country : But that which is

* Hist. Eccl. Vol. 4. Sæc. 15. page 857. & seq.

† Archontologia Cosmica, lib. 1. page 402.

‖ Hottinger, ubi supra, pag. 858.

‡ Heylin's Cosmography, Book 2. Pag. 169. Edition 1652.

a greater proof of their barbarity, is a strange custom they observed ; when any lord took possession of his little dominions, several persons offered to die voluntarily in honour of the solemnity, and with a brutal courage cast themselves headlong from the top of a very high mountain. The same ceremony was observed upon certain festivals, kept in honour of a deity they adored, in a temple seated on a brink of a mountain ; they threw themselves down into a vast depth, out of a religious principle, dancing and singing ; their priests assuring them, they should enjoy all sorts of pleasure, after such a noble death. They eat the flesh of beasts raw and bleeding, having not yet learned the use of fire. The inhabitants of the several islands looked upon one another as enemies, much after the same manner as is practised between the *Iroquois* and *Hurons* in *Canada*, who eat one another ; so the people of these isles killed and butchered one another, without mercy or compassion ; they used to do the same to strangers, when in their power. I need not enlarge upon the manners, rarities and produce of those islands ; they are known to every sea-faring man, and may be seen by any who reads geography. Only I thought fit to give a hint of these barbarous customs, and sacrifices to devils, that we may see the lamentable condition of heathens, and the great mercy of being delivered from such abominable rites, by embracing our holy Religion. The *Spaniards* brought Christianity into those islands, according to the doctrine and superstition of the church of *Rome* ; the inhabitants are now *Roman Catholics*, and have a bishop in the *Canaries*.

Madera is an island in the *Atlantick* sea, to the west of *Barbary*, 'tis called by some, *The Queen of Islands*, because of its beauty and fertility ; it was discovered in the year 1420, by *John Gonsalve* and *Christian Vasee*, in the name of the king of *Portugal*, who is possessed of it. The inhabitants were heathens, when first discovered. There is now a popish archbishop settled at *Funchal*, with a revenue of 8000 ducats.

But of the state of heathenish idolatry, and of the propagation of the Christian Religion, in these last ages, since navigation, arts and sciences, began to be improved, we shall have occasion to discourse more fully afterward, in the following parts of this essay; and therefore I now put an end to this chapter.

C H A P. VII.

Of the present State of Heathens in Asia, Africa, and America.

BEFORE I enter upon the propagation of *Christianity*, in these remote parts of the world, in the last ages, it will be proper to consider their present circumstances, that we may have the clearer view of the condition they are in, and of the care which ought to be taken for their conversion. Neither shall I forget to give some account of remote Christian churches in those parts of the world, that we may the better sympathize with them, as members of the same body of Christ with our selves; and because this and the following chapter have a mutual connection, what is more largely treated in the one, shall be omitted in the other. Indeed, the vast extent of *Pagan Idolatry*, and the deplorable condition of so great a part of the habitable earth, that was not known to us in *Europe* well, till within these two hundred years, or thereabouts, and who, notwithstanding some endeavours that have been used for their conversion, are yet for most part without the pale of *Christ's church*, under the servitude of *satan*, aliens to the commonwealth of *Israel*, strangers to the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world; may move the pity and compassion of any tender-hearted Christian.

I begin with *Asia*, and first of the *Bramans*, because they are a set of people scattered up and down many parts of the *East-Indies*. Mr. *Wotton*, in his *Reflections on*

ancient and modern learning, gives this account of them *: “ We have very little of any notice of these
 “ *Indian* Philosophers before *Alexander* the Great, who
 “ extended his conquests as far as the river *Indus*. His
 “ historians acquaint us with a set of philosophers in
 “ that country, who practised great austerities them-
 “ selves, and taught others that wisdom of living on a
 “ little, of abstaining from almost all natural plea-
 “ sures, and promoting the prosperity and welfare of
 “ the rest of mankind.” *Strabo* gives a description of
 them out of *Megasthenes*, *Onesicritus* and *Aristobulus*.
 That the body of it may be true, is probable, from
 what we are told of their successors the *Bramines*, by
Bernier and *Abraham Roger*. This last author lived a-
 mong the *Bramans* 15 years, and had his information
 from *Padmanaba* a *Braman*; he preached both in the
Dutch and *Portuguese* languages in *Coromandel*, *Java*,
 and *New Holland*; and returning to *Holland* in *Europe*,
 in the year 1647, wrote his book †, where he col-
 lected the opinions of the *Bramans* with all the exact-
 ness he could. He says, “ The superstitious care these
 “ people take to follow the customs, and propagate
 “ the opinions of their ancestors, be they ever so ab-
 “ surd and senseless, plainly shows, they would have
 “ preserved learning with equal care, had there been
 “ any of it to preserve. They keep a collection of the
 “ wise sayings of one *Barthbrocweri*, which Mr. *Roger*
 “ has given us a taste of; but such miserable stuff ge-
 “ nerally, that one cannot read them, without smiling
 “ at the simplicity of those who can admire them.
 “ They would not show him their book of the law,
 “ but by the account his *Braman* doctor gave of it,
 “ tho’ they pretend ’tis sent from God, yet ’tis only
 “ an absurd history of the fabulous succession of their
 “ deities, and as vile a collection of the superstitious
 “ ceremonies by which they are to be worshipped.
 “ Their doctrine of the transmigration of souls which
 “ *Pythagoras*

* Pag. 148, and following.

† *Hornbeeck de Conversione Indorum*, Lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 32,
 & seq.

“ *Pythagoras* first taught in the west, is a precarious
 “ idle notion, which these blinded *Indians* so foolishly
 “ believe, that they are afraid to kill a flea or a louse,
 “ for fear of disturbing the soul of one of their ances-
 “ tors; tho’ at the same time, they scruple not to force
 “ multitudes of poor silly women, and sometimes too,
 “ full sore against their wills, to burn themselves alive
 “ with their deceased husbands bodies, under pretence
 “ of being serviceable to them in another world; tho’
 “ they are far from having any assurance their hus-
 “ bands will there stand in need of them. Can we be-
 “ lieve there is a generous spirit residing in a people,
 “ who have now for two or three thousand years
 “ placed the greatest degree of sanctity and prudence
 “ in half starving themselves, and depriving themselves
 “ of the lawful conveniencies of life? Yet these were
 “ the chief employments of the ancient *Brachmans*, as
 “ they are still of the modern *Bramines*.”

Monsieur *Bernier* says*, “ That the *Bramines* believe,
 “ that the earth is flat and triangular, with several
 “ stories all different in beauty, perfection, and inha-
 “ bitants, each of which, they say, is encompassed
 “ by a sea; that one of these seas is milk, another of
 “ sugar, a third of butter, the fourth of wine, &c. and
 “ so on to seven, beginning at *Sommeire*, an imaginary
 “ mountain they place in the midst of the earth.
 “ That the first story, which is at the foot of *Som-
 “ meire*, hath *Deutas*, i. e. Semi-gods of the *Bramines*,
 “ which are very perfect; the second contains likewise
 “ *Deutas*, but less perfect, and so of the rest, still less-
 “ ening the perfection to the seventh, which they say
 “ is ours, that is, of man; less perfect than any of the
 “ *Deutas*. And lastly, that the whole mass is sustained
 “ on the heads of divers elephants, which, when they
 “ stir, cause an earthquake.” Upon this, and the like
 doctrine of theirs, consonant to those noble discove-
 ries in Monsieur *Roger*’s histories of the lives and
 manners of the *Bramines*, Monsieur *Bernier* makes

* *Voyages*, Tom. 3. pag. 168. English Edition.

this remark *; “ All these strange impertinencies,
 “ which I have had the patience to relate, have often
 “ made me think, that if these be the famous sciences
 “ of the ancient *Brachmans* of the *Indies*, very many
 “ have been deceived in the great opinion they con-
 “ ceived of them: for my part, I can hardly believe
 “ it; but that I find the Religion of the *Indians* to be
 “ from immemorial times, that ’tis writ in the *Hanscrit*
 “ language, which cannot but be very ancient, since
 “ its beginning is unknown, and it is a dead language,
 “ understood but by the learned. All their books be-
 “ ing writ in that tongue, is a mark of very great
 “ antiquity.”

The life of *Francis Xavier*, writ in *French* by Father *Bobours*, and done into *English* by Mr. *Dryden*, gives the following account of these *Bramans* or *Indian* priests †. “ The *Bramans* are very considerable a-
 “ mong the *Indians*, both for their birth and their
 “ employment. According to the ancient fables of
 “ the *Indies*, their original is from heaven; and it
 “ is the common opinion, *That the blood of the God*
 “ *is running in their veins*: but to understand how
 “ they were born, and from what God descended, ’tis
 “ necessary to know the story of their Gods, which in
 “ short is this. The first, and lord of all others, is
 “ *Para-Brama*, which is to say, *a most perfect substance*,
 “ who has his Being from himself, and who gives his
 “ Being to the rest. God being a spirit free from mat-
 “ ter, and desirous to appear once under a sensible
 “ figure, became man, by the only desire he had to
 “ show himself, he conceived a son, which came out
 “ of his mouth, and was called *Mayso*; he had two
 “ others after him, one of them whose name was
 “ *Vifnu*, was born out of his breast, the other called
 “ *Brama*, out of his belly. Before he returned to his
 “ invisibility, he assigned habitations and employments
 “ to his three children. He placed the eldest in the
 first

* *Voyages*, ubi supra, pag. 169.

† *Xavier's Life*, Book II. See Appendix to Religion and Learning of the *Malabarians*, by *Danish Missionaries*, pag. 64. & seq.

“ first heaven, and gave him an absolute command
 “ over the elements and mixed bodies ; he lodged
 “ *Visnu* below his eldest brother, and established him
 “ judge of men, the father of the poor, and the pro-
 “ tector of the unfortunate. *Brama* had for his in-
 “ heritance the third heaven, with the superintendence
 “ of sacrifices and other ceremonies of Religion. These
 “ are the three deities which the *Indians* represent by
 “ an idol with three heads growing out of one body,
 “ with this mysterious signification, *That they all pro-*
 “ *ceed from the same principle.* By which it may be
 “ inferred, (says my author) That in former times
 “ they have heard of *Christianity*, and that their Re-
 “ ligion is an imperfect imitation, or rather a corrup-
 “ tion of ours. They say, That *Visnu* has descended
 “ a thousand times on earth, and every time has changed
 “ his shape ; sometimes appearing in the figure of a
 “ beast, sometimes of a man, which is the original
 “ of their *Pagods*, concerning which they relate so
 “ many fables. They add, that *Brama* having a de-
 “ sire for children, made himself visible, and begat the
 “ *Brachmans*, whose race has infinitely multiplied.
 “ The people believe them *Demi-gods*, as poor and as
 “ miserable as they are. They likewise imagine them
 “ to be saints, because they lead a hard and solitary
 “ life, having very oft no other lodging than the hol-
 “ low of a tree or cave, sometimes living exposed to
 “ the air on a bare mountain, or in a wilderness, suf-
 “ fering all the hardships of the weather, keeping a
 “ profound silence, fasting a long time together, and
 “ making profession of eating nothing that had life
 “ in it. But after all, there is not perhaps a more
 “ wicked nation under the canopy of heaven ; the fruit
 “ of these austerities which they practise in the desert,
 “ is to abandon themselves in publick to the most
 “ brutal pleasures of the flesh, without either shame
 “ or remorse of conscience ; for they believe, that all
 “ things, how abominable soever, are lawful to be
 “ done, provided they are suggested to them by the
 “ light within. And the people are so infatuated with
 “ them,

“ them, as to believe, that they shall become holy by
 “ partaking in their crimes, or by suffering any out-
 “ rage from them. On the other side, they are the
 “ greatest impostors in the world ; their talent con-
 “ sists in inventing new fables every day, and making
 “ them pass among the vulgar for wonderful myste-
 “ ries : one of their cheats is, to persuade the simple,
 “ that the *Pagods* eat like men ; and to the end they
 “ may be presented with good cheer, they make their
 “ Gods of a gigantick figure, and are sure to endow
 “ them with a prodigious paunch. If these offerings,
 “ with which they maintain their families, come to
 “ fail, they denounce to the people, *That the offended*
 “ *Pagods threaten the country with some prodigious judg-*
 “ *ment, or that their Gods in displeasure will forsake*
 “ *them, because they are suffered to die of hunger.*

“ The doctrine of these *Bramans* is nothing better
 “ than their life ; one of their gross errors is, to be-
 “ lieve, that cows have in them something sacred and
 “ divine ; happy is the man that can be sprinkled with
 “ the ashes of a cow, burnt by the hand of a *Brach-*
 “ *man* ; but thrice happy he, who dying, lays hold of
 “ a cow’s tail, and expires with it betwixt his hands ;
 “ for thus assisted, the soul departs out of the body
 “ purified, and sometimes returns into the body of a
 “ cow : that such a favour is not vouchsafed but on
 “ heroick souls, who condemn life, and die gene-
 “ rously, either by casting themselves from a precipice,
 “ or leaping into a kindled pile, or throwing them-
 “ selves under the holy chariot-wheels, to be crushed
 “ to death by the *Pagods*, while they are carried in
 “ triumph about the town. We are not to wonder
 “ after this, that the *Brachmans* cannot endure the
 “ *Christian Law*, and that they make use of all their
 “ credit and cunning to destroy it in the *Indies*. Being
 “ favoured by princes many in number, and strongly
 “ united among themselves, they succeed in all they
 “ undertake ; and being zealous for their ancient su-
 “ perstitions, and most obstinate in their opinions, ’tis
 “ not easy to convert them.

In Mr. *Harris's compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels* *, I find the following story, which may give a further view of these *Bramines*. About the year 1613 the king of *Narsinga* died ; the *English East-India* company having considerable debts and effects among his people, were concerned to secure themselves : in order to this, when other means failed, they resolved to secure the governour, or his son ; and they actually seized his son, conveyed him into their boat, and then aboard their ship with him. Tho' they were hotly pursued by fire-arms, they made good their retreat :
 “ The governour was under a necessity of doing us
 “ justice, (says my author) and that in a little time
 “ too, if he loved his son's life, not that we intended
 “ to offer him any violence, but his own superstition
 “ would have given him death without remedy ; for it
 “ seems he was a *Braman*, and all of that character are
 “ forbidden by the laws of their sect to eat or drink
 “ any thing but what they provide themselves ; all
 “ animal food is abomination to them, and they have
 “ so many peculiarities of diet, (and being obliged to
 “ be their own cooks too) that the poor *Braman* was
 “ like to starve on shipboard, keeping a longer and se-
 “ verer fast than perhaps ever his Religion put him
 “ upon. He would not touch a bit of any thing we
 “ had, and tho' nature struggled hard, and made heavy
 “ complaints for relief, yet conscience restrained and
 “ curbed her, silenced all that noise, and got the vic-
 “ tory ; so that the young man must certainly die in a
 “ very little space, unless he would either over-rule his
 “ conscience, or persuade his father to shew a little in
 “ paying a just debt. This being the case, the old
 “ governour disputed the business no longer ; the sense
 “ of his son's danger softened and overcame him, and
 “ to avoid being his murderer, he discharged the in-
 “ cumbent debt, and ballanced all accompts with us.
 “ So we sent back the mortified prisoner again, having
 “ fasted now four or five days, enough to make a man
 “ hate that superstition, and to forswear being a *Bra-*
 “ *man*

* *Harris's Collection in Folio*, Vol. 1. pag. 113.

“ *man* any longer. But how ridiculous soever the doctrine of the *Bramines* be in the theory, ’twas very useful and profitable to us in the practice of it ; for if we had not got a *Brāman* into our hands, a fellow that must be presently redeemed, or else would have starved himself, we do not know when we should have got our money.”

F. *Bouchet* a missionary, has some remarks upon these *Bramans* ; his observations tend to prove *, That the *Indians* have taken their Religion from the books of *Moses* and the prophets ; that all the fables their books are filled with, do not so much disguise the truth, but it may still be known ; and that beside the Religion of the *Hebrew* nation, which they learned, at least in part, by their commerce with the *Jews* and *Egyptians*, there appear among them plain footsteps of the *Christian Religion*, preached to them by *St. Thomas* the Apostle, *Pantænus*, and other great men, ever since the first ages of the church. I only report the opinion of this *Jesuit*, but will not subscribe to it as solid truth ; yea, I conceive, the extravagant wild notions of the *Bramans* and *Indians* cannot be reconciled with the *Holy Scriptures*, and are only fables invented by the enemy of mankind, to lull his deluded subjects asleep in heathenish idolatry and impiety.

The *Indians* have an incredible bigotry, and mad zeal for their *Casts*. *Tavernier* tells us †, ’tis commonly believed there are 72 *Casts*, some say 84, yet there are but four principal ones, from whom the rest take their original. The first is that of the *Bramines*, the successors of the ancient *Brachmans* or *Indian* philosophers, of whom we have already discoursed. They study astrology, and to increase and preserve this knowledge, they have a kind of university at *Bonarez*, where their doctors expound their law, and they perform all their exercises in astrology. But because they are too numerous to study all there, many of them are
very

* *Jesuits Travels in English*, printed 1714, pag. 2. & seq.

† *Travels into India*, in *Harris's* complete Collection of *Travels*, Vol. 2. pag. 376.

very ignorant, and the most refined wits among them are the greatest forcerers. The second *Cast* is the *Raspouts* or *Catrys*, who are warriors and warlike people; these are the only idolatrous *Indians* that have any courage to signalize themselves in war. All the *Rajas* are of this *Cast*. They are still petty kings, but their own differences made them tributary to the *Mogul*; and because most of them are continually in his service, they are sufficiently recompensed by great salaries; they are horsemen, only the *Catrys* are degenerated into merchants. The third *Cast* are the *Banians* or *Ouens*. An author, called *Henry Lord*, some time chaplain to the *English East-India* company at *Surat*, in the year 1630, printed a discovery of the sect of the *Banians*; I have read his book, it contains many fabulous stories concerning their deities, history, law, liturgy, customs and ceremonies, which he says, is taken from a book, called by the *Banians*, *Shaster*: but I shall not trouble my reader with any extract from this author; because we may find in this chapter, as much as may suffice from later writers, who have made more accurate enquiries in these affairs. To return to Mr. *Tavernier*, he says, the *Banians* wholly addict themselves to trade, and are some of them *Sheraffs*, or bankers, and others brokers, who are employed between merchant and merchant for buying and selling; they are so subtle and nimble in trade, that a *Jew* may be apprentice to them. They accustom their children betimes to flee idleness, and so early teach them arithmetick, that they'll cast up the most difficult account without pen or counters. If any man fly at them in the heat of his passion, they'll hear him patiently without making any reply, and parting coldly with him, not see him again for three or four days, till they think his passion is over. They never eat any thing that has life, and will rather die themselves than kill the least animal or vermin that crawls. They never fight, nor go to war; nay, they will not so much as eat or drink in the house of a *Raspout*, because they kill the victuals they eat, all but cows, which they never touch.

The fourth *Casts* are the *Charados* or *Soudras*, who go to war as well as the *Raspouts*, but with this difference, that the *Raspouts* serve on horseback, and the *Charados* on foot. Both of them account it an honour to die in battle, and most infamous to retreat in fight; inso-much, that a wife, tho' she love her husband ever so well, will not receive him into her house who has this mark of cowardice upon him, till he has regained his reputation. The rest of the natives who are not reckoned into these *Casts*, are called *Pauzecour*, and are such as employ themselves in handicraft trades. These, in imitation of the former, have ranged themselves into several bodies like *Casts* or *Tribes*, and bring up their children, and marry them only to their own tribes. We shall hear afterward, that this bigotry for their *Casts* is a prejudice to hinder the conversion of particular persons to *Christianity* in the *East-Indies*, for fear they be cast off, or excommunicated by their own tribe. So much concerning the state of heathens in general in the *East-Indies*.

I now proceed to consider the state of *Heathens* in several particular countries and kingdoms, both in the *Continent* and in the *Islands*; and shall begin with *Malabar*, which is a large populous country, upon the Western coast of the peninsula of *India* on this side of the *Ganges*, near Cape *Comorin*. The *Danish* missionaries in 1706, and some following years, did endeavour to promote *Christianity* there, of whose endeavours and success we shall give some account in the following chapter. Mean time, we may observe in the narrative of the progress made by these missionaries *, a large account of the present state of the heathens in that country. The sum whereof is, *The Malabarians have a very regular language, which may be reduced to a certain*

* Narrative of *Danish* Missionaries, Part 2. pag. 7. & seq. See also an Account of the Religion, Manners, and Learning of the People of *Malabar*, in several Letters written by learned Men of that Country to the *Danish* Missionaries, by Mr. *Philips*; printed at London 1717. in 8vo. in 180 Pages.

tain standard, or rules of grammar. As our learned men in Europe have their course of philosophical sciences, so have the Malabarians, and treat them in a regular and methodical manner, as well as our scholars in Europe. They have a written law, from whence, as from a fountain, they fetch all their theological deductions and determinations. Concerning God, they'll tell you, they worship one divine Being, which they set up for the original and productive cause of all things, calling it accordingly, *Barbara Wastu*, or the supremest Being of all. This God, they say, doth not concern himself immediately about things of little moment, falling out either in this or the other worlds; but has created some other great Gods as his vicegerents, by whom all the worlds and creatures therein are influenced. These Gods, say they, have again their subordinate Gods, of whom every one is said to have his particular station and government assigned him. By this middle sort men are created, according to the order of the supremest Being of all; and therefore, they think it reasonable, they should have some kind of worship allotted to them, not exceeding the very lowest or third order of Gods, since men have received tokens of kindness from them too. They add, That all these inferior sorts of worship are resolved at last into the sublimest worship due to the supremest Being of all.

They pretend likewise, that wise and understanding men among them, perform their worship without images, these being designed, say they, for children only, and the duller sort of people, who know not what sort of ideas or representations to frame of these heavenly Beings. They tell you, that after the supremest Being, there are 3,500,000 all depending on the first or primary substance. They say, there are 48000 *Risch*i or great prophets, and an infinite number of angels and inferior officers. The genealogy or gradual production of their Gods is remarkable, and is ranked by them in this series: (1.) The Being of Beings, the supremest God, created Eternity. (2.) Eternity brought forth *Tschinen*. (3.) By *Tschinen* the Goddess *Tschaddy* was created. (4.) The Goddess *Tschaddy* produced *Putudy*,

or the elementary sensitive world. (5.) By *Putady* the Sound or Ringing was formed. (6.) The Sound's offspring was Nature. (7.) Nature afterward begat the great God *Tschatatschinen*. And (8.) This again brought forth another great God, called *Megeſchurn*. (9.) From *Megeſchurn* ſprung up *Rudiren* or *Iſpuren*. (10.) From *Rudiren* the great God *Wiſchtrum*. (11.) This again created *Brama*. Which (12.) proved the productive principle of the Soul. (13.) The Soul at laſt created the Heaven, or that vaſt expansion between heaven and earth, which maketh up the fifth element, according to the *Malabarick* philoſophy, or rather the receptacle of the other four elements. (14.) This Heaven begat or created the Air. (15.) The Air begat the Fire. (16.) The Fire begat the Water. And (17.) The Water begat the Earth.

As for the reſt of their Gods and holy Prophets, they furniſh out a large, long-linked roll or genealogy, too prolix to be here inſerted. Concerning the nature of their Gods, they freely confeſs, they are ſubject to various changes and mutations, as well as the creatures themſelves, and that each of them has a fixed term both of life and government. After the expiration of all theſe ſet times, every thing, ſay they, ſhall return to the Being of all Beings, and then there ſhall follow a new creation. There is great difference among them as to the worſhip of their Gods, one part preferring this, and another more fond of that: they ſay, that in old times their Gods frequently appeared upon earth, and from theſe apparitions they coin a world of ridiculous tales and ſtories. They ſay, there are fourteen worlds, ſeven ſuperior, and ſeven inferior ones, with as many huge ſeas moving betwixt them. This ſtrange notion furniſhes their poets with abundance of fictions, and whenever they entertain you with an account of ſome ſtrange accidents or adventures, they only ſay theſe happened in ſuch a world, without thinking themſelves obliged to alledge any other proof. As for the creation of man, they ſay, that 60000 men were created at firſt, the half of theſe ſoon turned to ſomething.

thing else, and the other half remained men, both of them being afterwards multiplied to infinite numbers. As to the image of God, after which man was created, and the lamentable loss thereof by the fall, they know nothing of it. Their notion about sin is very lame and imperfect; they say, it comes from the constitution of the body, and from excessive eating and drinking. But the *Bramans* say, they are no sinners at all, but the offspring of the great God *Brama*, and think themselves pure and sinless all over. Concerning the soul of man, they have a multitude of wild foolish notions: some say, God is the soul, others affirm it to be a part of God, others give out, that God, at the creation of the world, created all those souls that were designed to go into the bodies of men; others say, the soul is begotten by the parents, others believe it to be the product of the five elements; the most part think every one hath two souls, a good one and a bad one. They are generally for a transmigration of the soul, out of one body into another, for her full and perfect purification. But as for such as have all along lived a good and holy life, they tell you, that they are immediately translated into a state of complete bliss and happiness. Of those that have been defiled by a great many sins in the world, they hold they must wander from one body to another, and by this means be born over and over again, till they gain a perfect purification at last, and be admitted to the enjoyment of the company of the Gods. From this principle they further infer, that those who have indulged themselves in all manner of lewdness and vanity, are oft forced into the wild and venomous beasts, or else born again into the world, in a very poor and mean condition; whereas, those who have done a great deal of good, but without being arrived yet at the pitch of perfection, are born again, some like kings, some like great scholars, and some like other topping and first-rate men in the world.

In this vast multitude of people, hurried about with so many uncouth notions, I must needs say, adds my

author *, I never met with any one Atheist ; I mean such as had the boldness to contradict the existence of a sovereign Being, and the truth of a future life. On the other hand, I have seen many, that will undergo a great deal of pain and labour, to fit themselves for a better state in the next world ; many will quit all they have, wife, children and estate, and retire into some solitude, to do penitence for their former life. Some will employ themselves about acts and offices of humanity, erecting up and down abundance of charity houses, where both indigent travellers, and other poor people, may find rest and refreshment. There are also some spacious buildings, like cloysters or colleges, to be seen in some places, where often a thousand people are entertained at once. In the year 1708, a certain Queen, residing not far from *Tranquebar*, I have been told for certain, continues the same author, entertained to the number of ten thousand *Bramans* at free cost—. All this they do, in order to prepare themselves for another world, and please the Gods, of whom their books inform, that they often appear in the shape of beggars, and unexpectedly steal in upon people, to see whether they be diligent in relieving the wants of the poor and needy. Some such charitable and public spirited men, have by their Gods been taken up triumphantly in soul and body, into the regions of the blessed, as the *Malabar* historians tell us ; and this is another motive that encourages them to such generous acts of love and charity.

Concerning the state of happiness after this life, our *Malabarians* inform us of four degrees or mansions prepared for the better sort of people : the first degree is termed by them *Tschalogum*, signifying paradise ; the second *Tschalimbum*, importing a very near access to the great God ; the third is called *Tscharubum*, such as arrive at this degree, are made the very image of God ; the fourth is called *Tschamschium*, and unites the inhabitants intirely to the supreme Being. Many, to render themselves worthy of so glorious a state, live a
very

* *Narrative of Danish Missionaries, Part 2.*

very precise and virtuous life ; some have so far thrown off all idolatrous worship, that they don't so much as come near a *Pagod* ; all their endeavours are bent upon the practice of virtue. This sort of men do not own any religious party at all, thinking themselves raised above the common set of religions used among the heathens. They are ready at any time to entertain you with discourses concerning virtue and holiness of life ; but as soon as you touch upon the doctrine of Christ, and the difference betwixt their Religion and that of the Christians, they do not like it so well, as if you barely talk to them of virtue, and purity of manners.

I forgot to tell you, that the abovesaid notion of transmigration, and various revolutions of souls, makes one of the strongest prejudices against the Christian Religion, among the *Malabar* Heathens, and is one of the greatest stratagems of the devil, whereby he makes many of them think slightly of the most horrid sins and pollutions. For while they don't believe any other punishment to be inflicted upon the wicked, but these revolutions of the soul, and being born again and again into the world, they grow at last quite familiar with this fancy of the rambles of the soul. Some of them have been convinced of the sottishness of this notion, and intirely put to a *Nonplus* ; but it being one of the oldest articles of their faith, and handed down to them by a long and uninterrupted tradition, 'tis hard to remove a prejudice so deeply rooted, and so commonly received among them.

In the entry to this chapter, I promised not to forget some remote Christian Churches scattered among the heathen, that we may the better sympathize with them as members of the same body of Christ : therefore, I shall now explain the state of the church of *Malabar* ; which I take from *Michael Geddes*, D. D. who, after nine years residence at *Lisbon*, where he had occasion to acquaint himself with books writ in *Portuguese*, concerning this country, has given us a

history of the church of *Malabar* *, from the year 1501, to 1599, where we are informed, the South-end of *Malabar* is inhabited by those who call themselves Christians of *St. Thomas*, because they were converted by the Apostle of that name; they have been for 1300 years, under the patriarch of *Babylon*, who sends them a *Meterane* or *Archbishop*. The first news of them was brought to *Europe* by *Pedralvares Cabral*, who in the year 1501, meeting with several of these Christians at *Cranganor*, persuaded two of them to come with him to *Portugal*; the eldest died at *Lisbon*, the younger named *Joseph*, went to *Venice*, where, on his information, a tract was published in *Latin*, of the state of the church of *Malabar*, printed at the end of *Fasciculus Temporum*. In the following year, these Christians hearing of *Don Vasco di Gama*, at *Cochim* in the *East-Indies*, put themselves under the protection of the king of *Portugal* his master. The admiral gave them many good words, and promised them his master's protection, against infidel princes. But after this compliment, we hear no more of them, till the year 1545. The *Portuguese* were too busy in making new conquests, and the *Friars* sent to the *Indies*, too much employed in making commodious seats for their convents, to attend any foreign business. But after all, this negligence is not so scandalous, as the violence afterwards used in reducing them.

The *Portuguese* finding the *Malabars* were not to be persuaded by any thing the *Friars* could do or say to them, to forsake their present bishop, and submit themselves to the pope †, resolve to try violence, to which popery owes its propagation. Having in a manner got the whole country into their power, they bring *Mar Joseph*, the only bishop of the Christians of *St. Thomas*, prisoner from *Cochim* to *Goa*, and thence transmit him in a ship to *Portugal*, where he promised the

* *Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar*, printed at *London*, 1694. 8vo.

† *Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar*, printed at *London*, 1694. 8vo. pag. 10.

the pope's legate, to do all that was in his power, to reduce his diocese to the obedience of the church of *Rome*. This hath been the ordinary method in the popish church, to oblige some mock-prelates, or hungry monks, to make a submission to the pope, in the name of the churches they pretend to represent; of which our author gives many examples *. The Christians in *Malabar* fearing they should never see their bishop *Mar Joseph* again, sent to the patriarch of *Babylon* for another in his room, who sent them one *Mar Abraham*, who had not been long there, before he had news of *Mar Joseph's* being returned to *Goa*. By this the *Portuguese* gave birth to a Schism, some adhering to *Mar Abraham*, and others to *Mar Joseph*, as their prelate. But the latter got himself eased of his competitor, he being sent prisoner to *Rome*, as an enemy to the *Latin Church*. These repeated tyrannies of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, dragging ancient bishops out of their own country and diocese, and tumbling them about the world; I cannot, says my author †, but reckon among the violent acts of injustice, for which *Manuel di Faria*, near the end of his *Asia Portuguesa*, says, God has punished them so visibly. The observation, says he, is so very true, as to give it in the author's words. " 'Tis remarkable, " that among all persons who have gone to the *Indies*, " whether as governours, captains or merchants, of " which sort most of them were, there is not one that " has raised a family of any consideration, out of the " goods they have got in these parts, either here, or " in *Portugal*; tho' there have been several of them " who have got one, two, three, or four millions. " Now, that nothing that is considerable, of all these " vast treasures, should any where appear, must be for " one or both of these reasons: *First*, That whereas " God permitted the discoveries in this voyage, only " for the propagation of his name, and true worship,

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* *Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar*, printed at *London*, 1694. 8vo. pag. 12—18. See the same History in a *French Treatise*, entitled, *Recherches Historiques sur l'Etat Ancien & Moderne de la Religion Chrétienne dans les Indes*.

† *Geddes's History of the Church of Malabar*, pag. 22.

“ not by barbarous methods, as those beforementioned ;
 “ these travellers have, for most part, pursued the ends
 “ of a sacrilegious covetousness, committing many acts
 “ of injustice to fill their coffers, instead of having
 “ any regard to Religion : the other is, because most
 “ of these riches were gained by unjust means of ty-
 “ rannies, robberies, and all sorts of insolence, of
 “ which many instances in the said history.”——Neither were the violences they made use of to convert infidels, any thing inferior to those they exercised on the poor *Chaldean* Christians, by which they provoked the heathenish princes to that degree, that they had like to have lost all they had in the *Indies* by it. For the *Hidalcan* who besieged *Goa* in the year 1570, both in his letters to *Don Lewis d’Alaide*, and in the speech he made to his captains, when he first communicated to them the design of driving the *Portuguese* out of the *Indies*, gave these violences as the chief cause of the war. About this time the *Dominican* Friars, under pretence of building a convent, erected a fortress at *Solor*, into which, as soon as it was finished, the viceroy put a strong garrison : there were perpetual bickerings between this garrison and the natives, in most of which, some of the Friars, as they were converting these infidels, with swords in their hands, lost their lives. *Fernando Vinagre* a secular priest commanded the squadron sent to assist the king of *Tidore*, where he appeared one day in armour, and another in a surplice, and baptized several persons in his armour, with his surplice over it.

In the rest of *Dr. Geddes’s* book, we may find the *Portuguese* took no pains to persuade the heathens to embrace Christianity, but were very diligent to oblige the Christians of *St. Thomas* to profess subjection to the pope, and to receive popish doctrines. Particularly, *Dom. Frey Aleixo de Menezes* archbishop of *Goa*, and primate of the *Indies*, in his visitation used many violent methods to establish the popish Religion in the East ; which makes it nothing strange, that these reunions, with such as the church of *Rome* call schismatics in the East, have been so short-lived. Those people do

Chap. 7. *Present State of Heathens in Malabar.* 151

hate many of the doctrines and idolatrous practices of the church of *Rome*, as *Francisco Roz* a Jesuit, after he had been with the archbishop last named, at *Carturte* in the *Indies*, told him *, “ That he could not believe he
 “ was at *Carturte*, where, not many months ago, having
 “ a mind to say mass, he was forced to have the church
 “ doors opened to him by the Queen’s *Regedor*; and
 “ when he elevated the sacrament, the people all shut
 “ their eyes, that they might not see it, and beat one of
 “ his scholars, for having named the pope in his prayers;
 “ and when he shewed them an image of our Lady,
 “ they cried out, away with that filthiness! we are
 “ Christians, and for that reason do not adore *Idols* or
 “ *Pagods*.” Yet the *Portuguese* archbishop forced this
 people to comply with his popish innovations for a time.

The church of *Malabar* does differ in many of its doctrines from the church of *Rome*, even in matters of great moment: as, *First*, She condemns the pope’s supremacy. *2dly*, She affirms the church of *Rome* is fallen from the true faith. *3dly*, She denies Transubstantiation, or, that Christ’s body and blood are in the substance of the elements in the eucharist. *4thly*, She condemns images, and the adoration of them, as idolatrous. *5thly*, She makes no use of oils in the administration of baptism. *6thly*, She knows nothing of godfathers or godmothers, nor of confirmation of children; she knows no spiritual affinity. *7thly*, She denies purgatory. *8thly*, She denies the necessity of auricular confession. *9thly*, She knows no extreme unction. *10thly*, She allows her priests to marry as often as they have a mind, and confers orders upon those who have been married, and upon widowers without a scruple. *11thly*, She denies matrimony to be a sacrament. *12thly*, She holds but two orders, *Priesthood* and *Diaconate*. *13thly*, She celebrates the Sacrament of the Supper in leavened bread. *14thly*, She consecrates with prayer. All this appears from the said book of *Dr. Geddes’s*, and from the acts and decrees of the synod of *Diamper*, which are printed with it, and which

* *Geddes*, as above, pag. 84.

make up the greater part thereof. In that Synod, *Dom. Frey Aleixo de Menezes*, archbishop of *Goa*, did endeavour to thrust upon the church of *Malabar*, the whole mass of popery, which they were before unacquainted with : this meeting was celebrated in *June 1599*. 'Tis not incredible, that the archbishop should be able to prevail with them to do this, since he had engaged all the neighbouring princes, and their *Regedors*, to assist him, and had secured the major part of the priests present, in all an hundred and fifty-three, whereof two thirds were ordained by himself, and made to abjure their old religion, and subscribe the *Creed* of *Pope Pius IV*.

Before I leave the church of *Malabar*, I shall further observe; that in the year 1714, there was printed at *Leyden*, an epistle in *Syriac*, from *Maha Thome*, that is, the *Great Thomas*, bishop of the ancient *Syrian* Christians in *Malabar* in the *Indies*, to *Ignatius* patriarch of *Antioch*, and the bishops of *Syria* ; where, after ample salutations, the said *Maha Thome* desires to be sent to them, one metropolitan, one patriarch, and two presbyters, because a *Nestorian* monk, sent by the bishop of *Babylon*, had endeavoured to pollute them with his errors. This letter was, by one *Vanderduin*, master of a *Dutch* ship, communicated to the learned *Charles Schaaf*, professor of the *Oriental Languages* at *Leyden*, who has published it with a *Latin* version ; together with a letter from the said professor, to *Maha Thome*, in *Syriac*, and a *Latin* version of the same ; where he signifies, that he has sent by the same ship, his *Syriac* New Testament, as a present to him ; and desires the favour of their *Syriac* Liturgies, and other books concerning their doctrine and religion. If this correspondence be improved, we may have further discoveries concerning these Christians in *Malabar* ; mean time it appears, that however the church of *Rome* has sometimes cudgelled them into a submission, they are no hearty proselytes to popery.

To return to the state of paganism in *Asia* ; the kingdoms of *Bishnagar* and *Narsinga* lie in the peninsula of

India, on this side the *Ganges*, near *Malabar*; the inhabitants have a cruel sort of heathenish idolatry: An idol, which pilgrims visit with their hands bound, with ropes about their necks, or knives sticking in their flesh, accounting themselves holy, if their wounds fester; they cast gold and jewels into a lake for its use; they carry it yearly in procession, and strive to be crushed to death under the chariot that bears it*. If any happen to be killed thus, they burn his body, and keep his ashes as holy reliques; some cut off pieces of their flesh, and throw them to the idol: Women prostitute themselves for money to maintain it. When men make vows to it, they perform them, by suffering their priests, with sharp hooks fastned to the cross-yard of a mast, to pull them up till the blood runs down, and then they are taken down, and lifted up again by the middle, giving thanks to the idol for accepting of their sacrifice: The priests licence women to marry, by sealing them with a hot iron upon the shoulders. They have festivals, some to the sun, some to their kine, and other idols: when the sun or moon is eclips'd, they say they are bit by a celestial sign call'd the *Dragon*†.

I now proceed Northward, to the empire of the Great *Mogol*, call'd also *Indostan*; it contains a great part of the continent of the *Indies*, being about six hundred and fifty leagues long, from East to West, and above four hundred and fifty, from North to South. The princes say they are descended from *Timur Lenc*, commonly called *Tamerlane*, who came out of *Tartary*, and settled this empire about the year 1401. 'Tis not my business to enquire into the riches, policy, or greatness of this monarchy, which cannot easily enlarge its limits, wanting a naval force, and being environed with strong neighbours, who are able to defend their own territories. As to religion, the Emperor, or *Mogol*, is a *Mabometan*, as also his court, and several

* See Captain *Alexander Hamilton's* New Account of the *East Indies*, printed 1727. chap. 31. of the famous Temple of *Jagarynut*.

† Great Historical Dictionary. Edit. Lond. 1694. *Ros's* *Pansebeia*, from *Vertomannes* and *Fernandes*.

several of his subjects, but the greater part of them are heathen idolaters. Beside other idols, they ascribe a kind of sanctity to the river *Ganges*, whose waters are very clear: therefore at certain times, four or five hundred *Indians* may be seen washing and bathing in that river, into which, at their departure, they throw gold or silver *. A larger account of the state of paganism, and their various rites in this empire, may be seen in *Mr. Tavernier's travels into India* †.

The *Mogol's* court is very jealous of the prevailing of paganism among them, as we are informed by a passage of the *News-Papers*, dated at *Amsterdam*, December 8th, 1719. “ Here are letters from *Ispahan* of the 30th of July last, of a great revolution in the empire of the Great *Mogol*, occasioned by the obstinacy of the emperor, who, having married a pagan princess from a neighbouring kingdom, was often entreated by his ministers to put her away, as the only means to appease the murmuring of his subjects; who, extremely abhorring the pagan religion, began to apprehend, he would renounce that of the *Mahometans*, to embrace that of the *Pagans*. But the Emperor, instead of hearkening to their counsels, suffered that princess to assume an absolute empire, both over his person and government. Whereupon, the principal lords of his court first put out his eyes, then poisoned him, and afterwards set on his throne, a prince of twelve years of age, son to his predecessor. All this was performed in five hours time, without any popular commotion, the successor enjoying the quiet possession of his crown.”

There is an abominable custom which obtains in many places, not only in the *Mogol's* country, but in many other kingdoms in the *East Indies*, where heathenism prevails; that is, of wives killing themselves after the death of their husbands, falling like so many sacrifices to the devil ‖. I shall give a late moving instance

* Historical Dictionary on the Word *Mogol*.

† See *Harris's Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, Vol. II. pag. 376. & seq.—

‖ See Captain *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I. pag. 277, 278.

stance of it, from a *News-Paper*, dated at *Paris*,
March 24th, 1719, containing an abstract of a letter,
 writ by *Father Martin*, to *F. de Villete*, both jesuits,
 from *Veragua Pati*, in the mission of *Madure*, on the
 coast of *Coromandel*. “ The prince of *Marava* (says
 “ the letter) dying in 1710, aged above eighty years,
 “ his wives, to the number of forty-seven, were burned
 “ with his corps, in the following manner. They
 “ digged a deep ditch without the town, and in it e-
 “ rected a pile of wood, on the top of which the de-
 “ ceased was laid, richly cloathed and adorned; when
 “ they had set this on fire, with a world of ceremonies,
 “ performed by the *Bramans*, that company of unfor-
 “ tunate women appeared, covered with jewels, and
 “ adorned with flowers, like so many victims designed
 “ for the sacrifice. They walked several times about
 “ the pile, the heat of which was perceived at a great
 “ distance; the chief of them held the dagger of the
 “ deceased, and directing her speech to the prince his
 “ successor, Here, she said, is the dagger which the
 “ prince made use of, to triumph over his enemies,
 “ take care never to employ it to any other use, nor to
 “ embrue it with the blood of your subjects; govern
 “ them as a father, as he has done, and you’ll live
 “ long and happy, as he did: since he is no more, no-
 “ thing can keep me longer in the world; all I have
 “ to do, is to follow him. With these words she re-
 “ signed the dagger into the prince’s hands, who took
 “ it, without shewing the least sign of grief or com-
 “ passion. Alas! said she, what further comes of all
 “ human happiness? I am sensible I am throwing my-
 “ self headlong into hell! These words struck all the
 “ spectators with horror: she had a christian woman
 “ in her service, who frequently discoursed her con-
 “ cerning the truths of revealed religion, in order to
 “ persuade her to embrace Christianity, but could ne-
 “ ver prevail upon her to renounce her heathenish idols,
 “ even tho’ the truths made some impression upon her
 “ mind. She having spoke thus, boldly turned her
 “ face to the pile, and calling upon her Gods, flung
 “ herself

“ herself into the midst of the flames. The second of
 “ these women was the sister of *Raya*, a prince of the
 “ blood, who assisted at that detestable ceremony ;
 “ when he received from his sister the jewels with
 “ which she was adorned, he broke out into tears, and
 “ fell about her neck, embracing her most tenderly :
 “ she seemed unmoved at it, and with a resolute coun-
 “ tenance, looking sometimes at the pile, sometimes
 “ at the assistants, cried with a loud voice, *Chiva*,
 “ *Chiva*, which is the name of one of her idols, and
 “ threw herself into the flames, as the first had
 “ done. The other women followed her soon after,
 “ some of them shewing composure enough in their
 “ countenance, and others were cast down and be-
 “ wildered: one of them frightened above the rest, run
 “ to a Christian, who was a soldier, and hanging about
 “ his neck, begged of him to save her. The new
 “ convert, who knew how foolish it was in him, to assist
 “ at this barbarous spectacle, from which all Christians
 “ are excluded by the severest prohibitions, was so
 “ stunned, that in the surprize, he pushed that unfor-
 “ tunate creature from him, into the glowing pit: he
 “ immediately retired, all shivering with terror,
 “ which soon threw him into a fever, accompanied
 “ with a frenzy, of which he died the night following.
 “ Whatever intrepidity some of these women discove-
 “ red at first, yet as soon as they felt the flames, they
 “ roared in a most dreadful manner, and tumbling
 “ over each other, strove to gain the brim of the pit,
 “ but in vain ; the assistants threw upon them large
 “ pieces of wood. The next day, the *Bramans* or
 “ *Priests* gathered their bones, which they threw into
 “ the sea. The pit was levelled, a temple built on
 “ the spot, and the deceased prince, with his wives,
 “ reckoned among the Deities. To conclude, it is by
 “ these women’s choice, that they give themselves up
 “ to this cruel death, tho’ ’tis almost impossible for
 “ them to avoid it ; for if they do, they must lie under
 “ perpetual infamy, and their relations would leave
 “ no means untried to oblige them to it. Mean time,
 “ this

“ this barbarous law only regards princeſſes, and concubines of *Indian* princes, and does not extend to women of leſs extraction, who ſhare a better fate, and whom nothing but the moſt barbarous vanity, can perſuade to ſubmit to ſo abominable a cuſtom.”

This puts me in mind of another barbarous cuſtom among the pagan *Indians*. *F. Villeté*, in the miſſion of *Madure*, in the year 1709, obſerves, that if their adverſary diſpleaſe them, and cut off his ears, they’ll cut off their own; if he put out one of his eyes, they, by *Lex Talionis*, will put out one of their own; if he kill his ſon, you muſt kill yours, offering a victim equal to his. This barbarous cuſtom, our author ſays, he has ſeen often practiſed*. What a mercy would it be to ſee the Goſpel of peace reform ſuch a people from inhuman horrid cruelty, and teach them their duty to God, mercy to themſelves, and love to one another!

To theſe inſtances of barbarous heathen cruelty, I ſhall add one or two more. In the *Paris* edition of the Jeſuits letters, I find it oftner than once, that in the great empire of *China*, where there are ſo many large cities, and ſo vaſt a multitude of people, that parents, for fear of being burdened with many children, expoſe their infants to various kinds of death, yea, even ſuffer them to die in ſtreets and kennels. *Manuel di Faria*, in his *Portugueze Aſia*, tells us†, that *Raju*, tyrant or king in *Ceylon*, when he was to make war on the *Portugueze*, thought fit firſt to conſult the idols about his ſucceſs, and having placed men behind them, who ſhould ſay as he directed, the anſwer was, *That if he would enter Colombo, he muſt ſhed innocent blood*. He pretending obedience to theſe commands, cauſed five hundred children to be ſnatched from their mothers, which were all ſlaughtered, and the idols ſprinkled with their blood. Theſe and other examples of heatheniſh barbarity, to be read in the *Indian* hiſtory, are the ſad footſteps of the cruelty of the devil to heathens, who are his ſlaves, who want the principles of Chri-

* Jeſuits Travels, *Engliſh* Edition, pag. 127, 128.

† *Manuel di Faria*, Tom. 3. *Engliſh* Edit. pag. 47.

Christianity, which teaches to *love mercy, and walk humbly with our God.*

If we go further Northward from the empire of the *Mogol*, we shall meet with *Tartary*: it is bounded on the *West* by *Moscovy* and the *Caspian* sea, on the *North* by the frozen ocean, on the *East* by the *Tartarian* ocean and *Cbina*, and on the *South* by *Cbina*, the empire of the *Mogol* and *Persia*. It yields to the territories of no potentate in the world for extent, except it be to those of the king of *Spain*, taking in his dominions in *America*; but then this country is united, whereas the regions that belong to *Spain* lie wonderfully divided. Some authors say, *Tartary* contains near two millions, two hundred thousand *Italian* miles square*; but the more common calculation is, that it is in length from *East* to *West* three thousand miles, and in breadth from *North* to *South* two thousand two hundred and fifty miles. As to religion, some of the *Tartars* follow the doctrine of *Mahomet*, which was admitted among them about the year of our Lord 1246; some are *Jews*, others Christians, especially *Nestorians*: but the greatest number are heathens, owning two Gods, one of heaven, another of earth; to the first they cast incense every day, and seek of him health and wisdom, which they stand much in need of. From the inferior Deity they ask abundance of fruit, store of cattle, and the like; they call him *Natigai*, and give him wife and children; they think he has a care of their cattle, corn, and other affairs. When they eat, they rub the mouth of this idol with the fattest of the flesh, as they do also to his wife and children, for they have many such little images in their houses, and afterwards cast the broth of the flesh to the spirits without the house. They keep their God of heaven in a high place, and that of earth beneath. They believe that their souls are immortal, but pass from one body to another, and are lodged better or worse, according to the actions of their lives, wherein they follow the *Pythagorean Metempsychosis*. They honour also the sun and

* *Grimeston's States and Empires*, pag. 701. & seq.

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and moon and the four elements, and do sacrifice to them. They call the pope and all Christians *Dzintbis*, that is, *Pagans*; and *Chaur*, that is to say, *Infidels*, *Dogs* and *Idolaters*. They do not solemnize one day more than another; and do not fast on one day more than another. They are much given to war, and use their victory with insolence, sparing no captives, neither men, women, nor children, old nor young, except some they reserve for servile work. They suck up the blood of wounded and dying persons. They are much given to uncleanness and whoredom, tho' they may have as many wives as they are able to maintain; no relation hindering them to marry, except it be mother, daughter, or sister, yet they are exceedingly addicted to *Sodomy*.

The learned *Hornbeck*, from the preface to *Martinius's Atlas* says *, *The Tartars have almost no religion, they abhor Mahometanism, and have a bad opinion of the Turks; they have received some superstitions of the Indians. There is no great difficulty in learning their language, therefore there is hope, that by the industry of Christians, the doctrine of our holy religion may be yet brought to Tartary.* But others alledge, they are more inclined to *Mahometanism*; these *Mussulmen* tell them, their religion is easier, more pleasant than *Christianity*, and more agreeable to warlike men, such as the *Tartars* are. All these difficulties may be easily surmounted by the almighty power of God, when he shall please to enlighten these barbarous nations, and make the sun of righteousness to arise upon them with healing under his wings. Indeed no less power can convert one infidel or stranger, far less a whole nation. Some authors tell us †, that in *Sachien*, the *Tartars* have divers monasteries for their idols, to whom they dedicate their children, and sacrifice rams, eating the flesh, but reserving the bones as holy reliques. The priest is allowed the head, feet, skin, inwards, and some part of the flesh. When great men are buried, they set a well-

* De Conversione Indorum, lib. 1. pag. 58.

† Great Historical Dictionary, Edit. 1694. on the Word *Tartars*.

well-covered table before the corps, thinking the soul is refreshed with the odour of the meats, and throw the pictures of his men, women and horses, &c. into the fire with the body, to serve him in the other world; (better to throw in the pictures than the wives themselves, as is done in the *Indies*.) In *Tangoth* they worship idols with many heads; in *Camdu* they prostitute their wives, sisters, and daughters to strangers, in honour of their idols. In *Cathai* and *Mangi* they offer blood to their idols for recovering the sick, as also rams with black heads, and spiced drinks, and fling the broth in the air; and the monks wear strings of nutshells, on which they say their prayers.

There is a copy of *William de Rubriquish's* travels in Mr. *Harris's complete Collection*: he was a *Frenchman*, of the order of *Minorite Friars*, and travelled into *Tartary* and *China* about the year 1253; he represents the opinion of the *Tartars* *, *That they believe there is but one God eternal in heaven, and upon earth there is one Lord Chingis Temingu Tingii, that is, The sawer of iron, because he was a Smith.* He says also, *That the Chan never does any thing without strange divinations by the shoulder-bones of rams, burnt into the blackness of coals; if the bones by the heat of the fire be cleft forth right, then he concludes he may do it; but if the bones be crackt athwart, or round pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not.* These are unaccountable wicked charms, propagated by the enemy of mankind.

Leaving *Tartary*, I go southward to the kingdom of *Siam*, which is a rich country, beyond the gulph of *Bengala*, in the peninsula of *India*. *M. Chaumont's* embassy to *Siam*, and *Father Tachard*, give this account of it †. Their religion cannot be known but from their books writ in the *Baalic* language, with them the tongue of the learned, and very few even among them understand

* *Harris's Collection*, Vol. I. pag. 504, 505.

† *Historical Dictionary* on the Word *Siam*. See also an historical Account of *Siam*, extracted out of the *Voyages* of six *Jesuits*, sent there by the *French King* in 1685. and *M. de la Louberie's Embassy* to the *King of Siam*, in *Harris's Collect.* Vol. II. page 465, &c.

understand it; besides, neither do these books always agree together, which makes the search into them more difficult. The sum of what has been gathered from them is to this purpose: They believe a God, but their notion of him is very different from ours; by him they understand a supreme Being, consisting of spirit and body, whose property it is to help and relieve men, that is, to give them a law, to teach them the true Religion, with other arts and sciences that are useful to them. The perfections they attribute to him, are the union of all moral virtues, and that in the highest degree; they believe his agility to be such, as in a moment he can transport himself at what distance he pleases; that he can appear, or make himself invisible as he will; that he knows all things, is the teacher of all men; that his body is more glorious than the sun; that he was brought forth in time, and does continue for ever; that he is become a God, after having obtained an absolutely perfect virtue in several bodies, thro' which his soul has passed from time to time, and divested his body of all human passions and motions, by a great number of transmigrations; that he arrives at the highest felicity after he dies, never to be born again; and that he appears no more in the world. This death is to be understood of the eternal, which rest, say they, this God enjoys in heaven after a certain number of ages, during which he has filled up the number of the elect, whom he was to bring up to the state of saints; and then, they say, another takes his place, and governs the universe, that is to say, teaches men true Religion. And this other God is a perfect man, who has merited to become a God by his good actions, and is arrived at the highest degree of holiness. Those who have lived well here, become saints after they have attained abundance of virtues, and passed through many bodies, where they have been purified from all manner of vices. For, to become a deity, an incomparable sanctity is required, such as is exempt from the least defect whatsoever.

They believe a *Paradise* and *Hell*, but suppose neither the pleasure of the one, nor the torments of the

other eternal; the longer or shorter stay in the one or other is determined, according as one has done more good works, or committed more sins. Hell, according to them, is divided into eight mansions, which are so many degrees of punishment; they believe also, there is a fire that burns the damned. They distinguish also eight degrees of bliss in heaven, in the three first of these, they suppose there are kings, princes, and people, and that in them the saints do marry.— They believe angels, but suppose them to have bodies of both sexes; they distribute them into seven ranks or orders, allowing each order a different heaven, and that their office is to watch for the preservation of man, and to take care of the government of the universe: each part of the world has one of these intelligences to preside over it. They attribute angels to the stars, to the earth, to cities, mountains, forests, winds, rain, &c. they own no other devils but the souls of wicked men, who being got out of hell, wander for a time up and down the world, and do all the mischief to men they can. The God whom the *Siamese* at present worship is called *Sommon-ok-bodam*; and the *Talapoins* say, that his brother *Thevat-bat* became jealous of him, and waged war against him, but being unable to deprive him of his divinity, he set up a new Religion, whence a multitude of other sects proceeded, and say the *Christians* have their Religion from this *Thevat-bat*, who is punished in hell for persecuting his brother: and by this means endeavour to deter people from *Christianity*. Their doctors say, that *Sommon-ok-bodam* having taught the true Religion to man, died never to be born again, and ascended to the eighth heaven, there to enjoy the most perfect bliss; his body was burnt, but his bones are preserved till now, which are of a wonderful virtue, and cast an amazing brightness to dazzle the eyes of spectators, as a certain mark of his divinity.

The *Talapoins*, who are the priests, religious, and teachers of the *Siamese*, are looked on as the true imitators of their God; they have little or no commerce with the world, they never salute any layman, no not

the king himself. Their monasteries are so many colleges for the training up of youth, and all the children of persons of quality are sent thither, so soon as capable of instruction; they live abstemiously, and obey one head, who is the priest of the great *Pagod* at *Siam*, the capital of the kingdom. They are clothed in yellow linnen, and have their heads shorn, are under a vow of chastity as long as priests, but may quit their priesthood and marry. They observe no particular rule, nor observe any day of the week set apart for their devotion, beside the days of the four quarters of the moon. They observe a kind of *Lent*, which lasts three months, during which, they abstain from several sorts of food; they pray for the dead, and bury them with abundance of ceremony: for beside musick, without which no considerable person is ever buried, their funerals are often accompanied with stage-representations and fire-works. They easily agree with those that are of a different Religion, because they believe all men may be saved in their own way, if they exercise themselves in virtue and charity.

They give us this system of the world; they suppose the heaven and the earth to be increated and eternal, and cannot conceive the world ever had any beginning, or will have any end. The earth, according to them, is not round, but a flat superficies, which they divide into four square parts, separate from each other by water; and the whole earth is inclosed with a prodigious high wall, on which are engraven in great characters all the secrets of nature. In the midst of these four parts of the world, there is a very high mountain, about which the sun and moon circulate continually, and by the daily revolution of these stars day and night is made. The earth has under it a vast depth of waters, which supports it, as the sea does a ship; and a violent wind which blows continually, keeps the waters that support the earth from falling down. These are their extravagant notions.

They have very magnificent *Pagods* or temples; the most sumptuous, is that in the king's palace at *Siam*:

at the gate, there is a cow on the one side, and on the other a most hideous monster: the inside glitters with gold; the walls, the cieling, and all the pillars and figures are so well gilt, that they seem to be all covered with plates of gold. After one is entred the temple, there stands a kind of altar, on which there are four figures of massy gold, much about the height of a man, that sits crois-legged, as the custom is in *Siam*; a little further is a Choir, where is the richest Pagod or Idol of the kingdom, the name being given both to the idol and to the temple. The statue is standing, and with his head toucheth the roof of the temple; 'tis about 45 foot high, and 7 or 8 broad, and yet all of gold; according to the proportion, it cannot be less than 100 foot square, all of gold, that is 12500 pounds of this metal, for one foot square of gold weighs 125 pound, and accordingly the idol must be worth at least above twelve millions and five hundred thousand *French* livres. They say, this prodigious *Colossus* was cast in the very place where it stands, and afterwards the temple built over it. At the sides of this *Colossus*, there are several other statues of less size, which are likewise of gold, and adorned with precious stones.

The kingdom of *Pegu* is adjacent to *Siam*, in the same peninsula of *India* beyond the *Ganges*. In the year 1567, the king of *Pegu* besieged *Siam*, with, as says my author, 1,400,000 men *, and took it after one and twenty months; at that time he had 26 crowned kings his vassals, with vast treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones. In 1568, there was a great war between these two kings, occasioned by a white elephant which the latter refused to sell the former: many particulars in these wars, and horrid heathenish cruelties exercised in them, are described by *Manuel di Faria*, in his *Portuguese Asia*, which here I pass. The people of *Pegu* are Pagans, excepting some who have made alliance with the *Europeans*, and embraced their Religion. These Pagans believe, that God is the author of

* *Great Hist. Dictionary*, Edit. 1694. on the Word *Pegu*.

of all the good that befalls men, but that he leaves the disposal of all evil to a wicked Angel, wherefore they have a greater veneration for a wicked Angel than they have for God. Their priests are called *Talapoi*, and live upon alms, they highly exclaim against the offerings made by the people of *Pegu* to the devil, but cannot abolish that impiety. Adultery, sodomy, and all uncleanness, is very common among them. In the king's palace is a *Varelle* or *Mosque*, full of *Pagods*, that is, of idols made of massy gold and silver, crowned with precious stones, and adorned with chains of diamonds, of an inestimable value. They keep holiday every new moon, believe the transmigration of souls, and honour their idols with festivals, in which wax lights are burnt before them.

Many other *Pagan* kingdoms in the *East-Indies* agree in the same rites of idolatrous worship with those already described. I fear I should be too tedious, if I should particularly examine all of them. *Goa* in the kingdom of *Decan*, in the peninsula of *India* on this side the *Ganges*, is almost the only place the *Portugueze* possess in the *East-Indies*, of all their great conquests, being dispossessed of the rest by the *English*, *Dutch* and *Danes*; here the natives have such a veneration for monkees, that they build them *Pagods*, and worship them. In *New Holland*, *Dampier* says *, *The natives are idolaters, and a most coarse and unpolished people, like those of Monomotapa in Africa.*

Tonquin is a considerable kingdom in the *East-Indies*, near *Pegu* and *Siam*; in ancient times it depended upon *China*, but these 600 years last past it has been governed by its own kings. The natives are *Pagans*, and are divided into three sects; the first takes its original from the old philosopher *Confucius*, whose memory is very famous in *China*, and most of the neighbouring kingdoms †; they of this sect believe, that, when a man dies, his soul dissipates into the air; they sacrifice to the sun, moon, and other planets, and have four prin-

* Voyage round the World, Vol. 1. chap. 15.

† Historical Dictionary on the Word *Tonquin*, from *Tavernier*.

cipal Gods, and one Goddeſs. The Gods are called *Brama*, *Raumu*, *Betolo*, and *Ramonu*; and the name of the Goddeſs is *Satibana*. But the King, the *Mandarins*, or Lords of the court, and the learned men, adore only the ſky. The ſecond ſect came from a *Hermite* called *Chacabant*, who left them ſeveral commands, and the doctrine of the tranſmigration of the ſouls. The third is that of *Lanthu*, a famous magician, who taught part of *Chacabant*'s doctrine, and joined ſome precepts concerning charity and the care of the poor. The *Tonquinoiſ* adore three things in their houſes, the heart or houſhold God, an idol they call *Tienſie*, which is as the patron of all arts and callings; and *Buabin*, which they invoke to make their houſes happy. Some of them adore the five parts of the earth, for they place a fifth in the middle of the other four; and in worſhipping theſe, they have for each its particular colour: for when they ſacrifice to the North, their cloath, table, diſhes, and all are black; when they adore the South, they are clad in red; in green for the Eaſt, and white for the Weſt; and for that in the middle of the world, they wear yellow. I think we have enough of them; he that would ſee more, may read *Tavernier*'s relation of *Tonquin*. The like ſuperſtitious are uſed in *Cochin-China*, *Tſiomſa*, *Montabadan*, *Cambodia*, *Malacca*, and ſome neighbouring parts of the *East-Indies*, which I ſhall not particularly inſiſt upon. May God of his goodneſs baniſh all theſe idolatrous rites, and promote true Religion in the life and power of it, according to his holy Word, among them.

I deſign to diſcourſe more fully concerning the ſtate of Religion in *China*, in the following chapter, and therefore ſhall write but very little concerning their idolatry and ſuperſtition in this. *Monſieur Le Comte* ſays *, idolatry did not begin with the commencement of the *Chinese* Empire, but prevailed in ſucceeding ages; it was introduced firſt with the uſe of magick. The profeſſors of this art are called *Tienſee*, heavenly doctors;

* *Memoirs of China*, Letter 10.

doctors ; they live in society in great numbers, they covenant with the devil, cast lots, and perform magical wonders, whereby they delude the people, and increase their own reputation. Another sect, is of those who worship the idol *Fo*, brought from the *Indies*, as they say, 32 years after Christ's death ; of which idol they tell wonders, that he did go as soon as born, and speak, saying, *In heaven and earth I am the only person that deserves to be worshipped* : yet he died at 79 years of age, and the *Bonzes* or priests worship him. Yea, they adore the ape, the elephant, and the dragon, they set them up in their temples, and offer meat, incense and prayers to them ; but if they be offended, and get not their askings, they give them ill names and blows too. The *Bonzes* tell sick people, *That after death their souls will transmigrate into horses, mares, &c.* which so frightened an old man, that he sent for our author and turned *Christian*. But 'tis not easy to tell all the ridiculous stories of their superstition ; their religious ceremonies, opinions and morals are very different, since every day the *Bonzes* invent new whimsies. There are some *Mahometans* in *China*. The emperor endeavours to procure the peoples favour, and therefore shews respect to the *Bonzes*, yet does not listen to all their sopperies, tho' he believes one God. State-reasons hinder him from receiving the truths of the Gospel, which is a great obstacle to its progress. But the power of God, which, says *Le Comte*, hath confounded many idols, overthrown their temples, made viceroys, ministers of state, and one empress submit to *Christianity*, can conquer all these difficulties.

Corea lies in the North-east coast of *China*. A *Dutch* vessel that was shipwreck'd there, gives this account of the state of religion with them. The *Corefians* * have scarce any Religion, nor do they respect their idols half so much as other barbarous nations do. They believe, however, that virtue shall be rewarded, and vice punished in the other world ; and their whole country

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swarms

* *Harris's complete Collection of Voyages*, Vol. 2. Appendix, pag. 39.

swarms with religious men and women, much of the same nature with those that are in *Roman Catholick* countries, from whom, besides several other points, they differ in this, viz. *That 'tis lawful for any man in Corea, to go in and come out of a monastery when he pleases; and their king may make such alterations as he sees fit, in all affairs of this nature.*

Having considered the state of Paganism in the continent of *Asia*, I shall now take a view of the same, in some of the principal islands.

I begin with *Ceylon*, which is a pleasant isle in the *Indian sea*, on this side *Ganges*, near cape *Comori*. *Bochart* hath endeavoured to prove, that 'tis not only the *Ophir* of *Solomon*, but also the *Taprobane* of the ancients, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. The last of these authors makes *Taprobane* much bigger than *Ceylon* at this day is; but this does not weaken *Bochart's* reasoning, since the islanders assert, *That the sea has gained upon, and overflowed a great part of the land.* The *Dutch* now are masters of most of the maritime towns there, that were once possessed by the *Portuguese*. Here are all kind of drugs, with cinnamon, precious stones, gold and pearls; which last, are fished up in the streights between this isle and the firm land. There is a mountain, called the *Pic of Adam*, esteemed the highest in all the *East-Indies*, in the middle of the island. The natives, says *Hornbeeck* *, called *Singales*, conceive here was paradise, and that *Adam* was created there, or at least driven thither, as to the middle of the world, there to be buried; and skew the print of his feet upon stones. The natives are Pagans, and own one supreme God, and that he has delivered the care of affairs to inferiors, of whom they have many different idols and images; they worship elephants, and white apes, especially one, who they say, was once a God, but for some fault or other was turned out of heaven, and changed into a monkey. They shew a precious relique of a tooth kept in a Pagod, upon the *Pic of Adam*, worshipped yearly by a multitude

titude of people and pilgrims who resort thither. When the *Portuguese* came into the isle, in the year 1554, they seized this mountain, and *Pagod*, conceiving, that by the famed sanctity of the place, and the multitude of pilgrims who resort thither, they would find great riches. But they found nothing, save a little chest adorned with precious stones, where they kept this tooth, which they carried off. To recover it, the kings of *Ceylon*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Bengala*, and *Bisnagar*, sent to the viceroy of *Portugal* ambassadors, offering beside other gifts, seven hundred thousand ducats of gold ; but the *Portuguese* archbishop *Gaspar*, dissuaded them from delivering up the idol, saying, *It would turn to the reproach of the Christians, that they allowed Pagans the use of their idols for a piece of money.* Therefore, he caused the tooth to be burnt in the view of its admirers, and scatter'd the ashes into the air. Some *Benjans* understanding the grief their people were in for this loss, deluded them, saying, the tooth was found, which by a miracle they recovered out of the hands of the *Portuguese*, another being put in the room thereof, which they ignorantly burnt for the true one ; and, that it was confirmed by the oracle of a *Pagod*, this was the true tooth they shewed them. The people easily believed, and the king of *Bisnagar* gave the deceivers a round sum for the tooth, and ordered every body to esteem and worship it, as they had done the former.

Robert Knox, who had been captive in *Ceylon*, near twenty years, viz. from 1659 to 1679, wrote a history of that island, printed in a thin *Folio*, in the year 1681, which may give some satisfaction to the curious, concerning the natural and political state of the country. I shall only remark a few things from this author, to our present purpose. He says *, the Religion of the country is idolatry ; there are many Gods and Devils they worship under particular names ; they acknowledge one to be supreme, whom they call, *Ossa poll Maupit Dio*, which signifies, the creator of heaven
and

* *Knox's History of Ceylon*, pag. 72.

and earth, who still rules and governs the same. This great supreme God, they hold, sends forth other deities to see his will and pleasure executed in the world, and these are petty and inferior Gods; these, say they, are the souls of good men, who formerly lived upon the earth. There are devils also, which are the inflictors of sickness and misery upon men. There is another great God, whom they call *Biddou*, to whom the salvation of the soul belongs; they believe him once to have come to the earth, and that when he was there, he did usually sit under a large shady tree, called *Bogabab*, which trees, ever since, are counted holy; and under them to this day, with great solemnity, they celebrate his worship: he departed from the earth, off the top of the highest mountain, called *Pico Adam*, where there is an impression like a foot, which they say is his. “ These people worship devils, and offer “ them sacrifices; they dedicate a red cock to the “ devil *, which the *Taddeſe* or *Priest*, of whom they “ have several sorts, consecrates. The devil domineers “ over them; they say their country is so full of devils “ and evil spirits, that unless they should adore them, “ they would be destroyed by them. Christians, they “ own, have a prerogative above them, and are not under “ the power of these infernal spirits. I have many times, “ says our author, seen men and women among this people strangely possessed, insomuch as I could judge it “ nothing else, but the effect of the devil’s power upon “ them, and they sometimes acknowledge it is so. I “ never observed any who did profess to be a worshipper “ of the holy name of *Jesus*, in the like condition. “ Some of them run mad into woods, screeching and “ roaring; some will be taken speechless, shaking, “ quaking, and dancing, will tread on the fire, and “ not be hurt, and talk like distracted folk. *He adds* †, “ This for certain I can affirm, that oftentimes the “ devil does cry with an audible voice in the night, “ very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog. The “ voice

* *Knox’s History of Ceylon*, pag. 75——77.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 78.

“ voice is heard only in *Cande-Uda*, the metropolis of
“ the country, never in the low lands. They prepare
“ an offering of victuals ready dressed, one dish where-
“ of is always a red cock, which they as frequently
“ offer to the devil, as papists wax candles to the saints.
“ They go often a begging charity for *Biddou*, to-
“ wards his sacrifice: they give ordinarily oil for his
“ lamps, rice for his sacrifice, and money or cotton-
“ yarn for his use. If their children be born under
“ any evil or unlucky planet, as they call it, or if the
“ astrologer say so, they kill the poor infants *.”

According to this author, 'tis no wonder the Christian Religion has made little or no progress in this island, for he says near the end of this book †, “ If any en-
“ quire into the religious exercise and worship practised
“ among the Christians here, I'm sorry, I must say,
“ I can give but a slender account of it; for they have
“ no churches, no priests, and so no meetings on the
“ Lord's day, for divine worship, but each one reads
“ or prays in his own house, as he is disposed; they
“ sanctify the day chiefly by refraining from work, and
“ meeting together at drinking-houses: they continue
“ the practise of baptism, but having no priests, they bap-
“ tize their children themselves, with water, in the name
“ of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
“ Ghost, and give them Christian names; they have
“ their friends about them at such a time, and make a
“ small feast, according to their ability. Some teach
“ their children to say prayers, and read, and some
“ do not. Indeed their Religion is at best but *Negative*;
“ they don't comply with the idolatry here practised,
“ and in general profess themselves Christians, as ap-
“ pears by their names: beads and crosses some of
“ them wear about their necks; but this is all. Nor
“ can I wholly clear them from complying with the Re-
“ ligion of the country, for some of them, when sick,
“ use the ceremonies which the heathens do in the
“ like case; as in making idols of clay, setting them
“ up

* *Knox's History of Ceylon*, pag. 94.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 188.

“ up in their houses, offering rice to them, and having
 “ weavers to dance before them ; but they are ashamed
 “ to be seen to do this, and I have known none to do
 “ it, but such as are *Indian* born. Yet I never knew
 “ any of them, who in heart and conscience incline
 “ to the ways of the heathen, but perfectly abhor
 “ them ; nor have there been any I ever heard of,
 “ that came to their temples on any religious account,
 “ but only stand and look on, except one old priest
 “ named *Padre Vergeance*, a *Genoese* born, and of the
 “ Jesuits order, who would go to the temples, and
 “ eat with the weavers, or other ordinary people,
 “ of the sacrifices offered to the idols, but with this
 “ apology for himself, that he eat it as common meat,
 “ and as God’s creature, and that it was never the
 “ worse for the superstition passed upon it. But enough
 “ at this time of *Ceylon*.”

The *Maldives* are a great number of islands, some reckon above 12000 of them, but some of these are only uninhabited sandy hillocks ; they cross the Equator, and run from the south to the south-west, toward the coast of *Malabar*, lying in thirteen clusters. The inhabitants are generally Mahometans, and therefore I leave them, and pass to

Sumatra, which is one of the three greatest isles in the *Sound* in the *East-Indies* : it lies near *Borneo*, and the promontory of *Malacca* ; it extends from north-west to south-east, 910 *English* miles ; its greatest breadth being of 210 ; there are several kingdoms in it : it is divided by the equinoctial line, into almost two equal parts, which makes the air very hot and unhealthy ; the ground produces abundance of Aromatics. The natives are generally heathens, but about 230 years since, by the diligence of some *Arabian* merchants trading thither, *Mahometanism* began to spread upon the coasts *.

Toward the south of *Borneo* and *Sumatra*, lies the isle of *Java*, about 200 leagues in length, and 50 in breadth ; it was formerly subject to many princes, now there

* *Heylin's Cosmography*, Edit. London 1652. Folio, pag. 254.

there are but two in it, the one of *Bantam*, and the other of *Materan*, who is styled the Emperor of *Java*; the country is very fruitful in *Aromatics*. The *Dutch* made themselves masters of *Jacatra*, one of the principal cities of the isle, in 1617; 'tis now the residence of the chief of the company, and the best bank in the *Indies*. Indeed the *Hollanders* have a greater power in the isles of *Java* and *Sumatra*, where they have several forts, than the kings themselves, and in a manner are their masters. In matters of Religion, the people of *Java* are *Mahometans*, or *Gentiles*, according to the humour of their kings.

A little to the north of *Java*, lies the large isle of *Borneo*, so called from a city of that name; it lies between the 7th degree 30 minutes, north latitude, and 4th degree 10 minutes of south, under the equinoctial, which divides it into two unequal parts; it is in length 700 miles, in breadth 480, and in circuit about 2000; it is counted the biggest island not only in the *Indian* sea, but perhaps in the whole world. Most of the inhabitants are *Mahometans*, but the inland people, called *Byajos*, are Pagans: they are an idle sort of people, hating industry or trade, and living generally upon rapine, and the spoil of their neighbours. They go naked, and only have a small piece of cloath that covers their privities: they make offerings to the devil. Captain *Beeckman* *, who staid some years in that country, says, that even the *Mahometans* there retain some pagan customs; some of the wisest of them, have not such an aversion to Christianity, as the *Mahometans* in other places, who generally are professed enemies to it. But here they speak very respectfully of *Jesus Christ*, and say, he was a great prophet; they believe, that *Adam* was the first man, that the world was once drowned †, which they have reason to do, seeing yearly such deluges in their own country; and they believe, that there are people in the world, tho' none

* Captain *Daniel Beeckman's Voyage to Borneo*, printed at *London*, in 1718. 8vo. pag. 43. & pag. 120.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 122.

none among them, whom they call *Oran Moosa*, meaning the *Jews*, who they say follow only the law of *Moses*, rejecting the doctrine of both *Mahomet* and *Jesus*. Captain *Beeckman* adds *, 'I cannot think it would be a difficult matter to establish the Christian Religion among them: it is true, the Romish missionaries attempted it formerly, but after making many proselytes; they ruined their own design, and lost their lives by their obstinacy and indiscreet zeal. Cay Deponattee, a man of the greatest character for probity among them, told me, that several years ago, there came into those parts a Portuguese padre or monk, who by his courteous behaviour gained a great many to the Christian Religion; but not content to preach among them, he must needs venture up the inland country, among the barbarous people called *Byajos*, by whom he was cruelly murdered. Some few years ago, long after the former was dead, there came another, who spoke the language as well as a native of that country: by his presents, particularly of linnen, and his shew of having so little value for money, assuring them, that his voyage thither, was not out of any motive of worldly interest, but to save their souls; he insinuated himself mightily into their favour, and made great progress while among the *Banjareens*. But after some time, he told them, that the spirit of his deceased brother had appeared to him, telling him, how he was slain in the inland country, and ordering him to come thither; that accordingly he must go to the place where his brother was murdered. The *Banjareens* had great love and respect for him, and used all means to dissuade him, particularly this Cay Deponattee. However, all was in vain, for he was resolved to go, and said, if they put him to death, he would glory in his sufferings. Accordingly he went, and made many proselytes, who built him a church, and were ready even to worship him; till at last they began to be discontented, and murmur at the great expence he put them to, in adorning their church with gold, &c. and more especially, because he had not performed his promise, of shewing

* Captain Daniel Beeckman's Voyage to Borneo, pag. 123, to
126 —

ing them all their deceased friends, whom indeed he promised they should see in the other world; but they understood that it was to be in this world, neither could he beat that notion out of their heads. So that taking him for a false prophet and an impostor, since his words did not prove as they understood them, they put the poor man to a most cruel death, and demolished the church, which they looked upon as a decoy to cheat them of all their riches. Now, had he staid among the Banjareens, I doubt not but he might have succeeded in his designs, and have converted the whole civilized part of the country: by which means, and by the influence and power of these people, the Gospel might have been more easily propagated among that other barbarous, savage nation. Neither was there less imprudence, in endeavouring to persuade them so soon to part with their riches, which they are so fond of, to embellish churches; for that could be done in due time, when they were better instructed in the principles of Christianity. Nor do I see what necessity there was for such mighty ornaments, more than the Apostles required in the primitive times, among much more civilized and sensible nations; but no good ever comes of blind zeal. So far concerning Borneo, what is said, may be a warning to other missionaries, to join prudence with zeal.

The *Sindæ* or *Celebes*, are a set of islands to the south-east of Borneo; the people for the most part are heathens, intermixed on the sea-coast with some *Mahometans*.

The *Moluccoes*, are a cluster of isles, to the east of the *Celebes*, famous for *Aromatics*; the *Dutch* have engrossed that trade, expelling the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese* and others. The natives for the most part are heathen idolaters, with some *Mahometans* on the sea-coasts. The isle of *Banda* is famous for nutmegs; the natives are *Mahometans* or *Gentiles*.

The *Philippines*, are a cluster of islands in the *Indian* sea, between *China* and the *Moluccoes*; they were so called, because they were first possessed by the *Spaniards*, in the reign of *Philip* the second: the *Portuguese* named them *Manbilles*, the chief of them being so called; the
Indians

Indians call them *Luzones*: authors affirm there are above 1200 of them. They were discovered in the year 1510, by *Ferdinand Magellan* a *Portuguese*, who was killed there, in the isle of *Cebu*; but were not inhabited by the *Spaniards*, till 1564. In the *Paris* edition of the *Jesuits Letters*, by one dated at *Carouvepondi*, in the kingdom of *Carnate*, January 1. 1702, 'tis affirmed, these missionaries have made a discovery of a great many more *Philippine* islands than were before known*, and give a chart of them. The *Dutch East-India* company have almost ruined the trade of the *Spaniards* in these parts, and occasioned a desertion of a great many of these islands from them. Some of the natives are *Mahometans*, but the greater part are Pagans, who worship sun, moon, and stars, which they hold to be the children of the sun and moon: their priests are for most part women, who are sorcerers and propheteesses; they worship the devil in ugly shapes, and whatever they meet first in the morning, unless it be some lizard or worm, which are held unlucky, and makes them leave their business and return home. They use to deck their idols with ostrich feathers; at sacrificing a hog, they sound cymbals: two old women with pipes of reed, reverence the sun, and in their sacred garments, with hair-laces and horns on the head of the elder, dance about the hog, muttering certain words to the sun; then a cup of wine is poured on the hog's head, by the elder of these two hags, who at last kills the beast, and takes into her mouth a burning torch, which she bites†; the other witch, with the swine's blood, marks the foreheads of all present, and then they fall to dressing the hog, which the women only eat up. Leaving the *Philippines*, I pass to

Formosa, which is an isle that lies upon the east-side of *China*, to the north of the *Philippines*, 24 leagues from *China*, 150 from *Japan*, and is about 130 in circuit:

* *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses écrites par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, Recueil 6.

† *Ross's Pansebeia*, pag. 89. from *Ant. Pegasetta*, and *Norr's Navigation*.

circuit: it abounds in cinamon and ginger, and hath some mines of gold; the inhabitants obey neither king nor sovereign, but live like a sort of republicans, giving the government of every town to twelve senators, whom they change at the end of two years. The *Portuguese* had possession here, from the time of their conquests in the *Indies*, till the year 1635, when they were expelled by the *Dutch* *. The women are their priests, and perform all the functions of their pagan worship; they adore several Gods, one who presides over the South, whom they call *Tamagisangab*, his wife in the East, whom they call *Tekarpuda*; when it thunders in the East, they say the wife is chiding her husband for hindering rain; and then it quickly comes †. They have another God in the North, whom they call *Soufano*, who is the author of calamities, and they worship him, that he may not send them. Other deities they have, that they call upon in wars and battels, which are frequent in this country; and another idol, which is worshipped by people who desire long life; 'tis the image of a fat, lusty old man, with a hart and an ape standing by him: for they conceive, to feed on deers flesh, tends to prolong the life.

Mr. *George Candidius*, a *Dutch* minister, who resided at the factory of that nation in *Formosa*, a considerable time, reports ‖, that women only are employed in their sacred things; they believe the immortality of the soul, but entertain ridiculous notions about the distribution of rewards and punishments in another world; for they look upon the grossest immoralities as trifles, and make heinous vices meritorious among them: for example, their priestesses forbid all women to bring any children into the world, till their mothers be passed the age of thirty six; and accordingly the infants are murdered in the mother's womb, by these inhumane

* Great Historical Dictionary on *Formosa*.

† Hornbeeck de Conversione Indorum, pag. 50.

‖ *Harris's* complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. 2; Appendix, pag. 40.

inhumane priestesses, who thereby put the mother to more torment than if their children were born into the world, in the ordinary manner.— Their worship, says he, I think, of all nations under the sun, is the most impious and abominable; for these infernal priestesses, whom they call *Inibs*, after abundance of ridiculous ceremonies, pretending their Gods have appeared to them, strip themselves of all their clothes, in the presence of the whole congregation, and address their Deities in that posture, with their impious prayers, in a long and tedious harangue.— Murder is but a trifle with them, and is made up between the relations of the defunct, and the murderer, for a few skins, or some such trifle. But I am weary of these abominations, may God of his grace deliver these people from them, by the light of the glorious Gospel.

I proceed now to *Japan*, which is an island, or cluster of islands, whereof *Japan* is the chief, lying Eastward of *Cbina*, between the 31st and 34th degrees of North latitude, and the 171st and 178th of longitude, about 12 days passage from *Cbina*, from which country they have borrowed their Religion and Learning; in matters doubtful, they appeal to their practice. The *Portuguese* discovered these isles in the year 1542. *Francis Xavier* a Jesuit, in the year 1549, preached the *Roman* faith there, with so much success, that his brethren pretend they had made 200000 converts; but these apostatised so fast, that there was scarce one of them to be found there seven years after. I design to give some account of *Xavier's* life in the following chapter, and therefore in this place shall only remark, that the sudden conversion of these proselytes, their surprising apostasy, their being baptized before they were ever instructed in the *Christian Faith*, and the many lying miracles which the *Jesuits* boast were done by him, makes me give little credit to the numbers they say he converted. Indeed the *Bonzes* in *Japan* were great enemies to the progress of *Christianity* there, not so much by disputing, as by a method the *Papists* themselves use, *arming the secular power*; and at last they

drove the emperor to such violences, as wholly to extirpate it in his dominions, and to enlarge the martyrology of the Jesuits, as he did in the year 1636. The ingenuous confession of a *Spaniard* gives some colour for the precaution of these infidels. The *Spaniard* being asked by the king of *Tasso*, how the king of *Spain* conquered so great tracts of land in both hemispheres? he too honestly answered, *That he sent monks to preach in foreign nations; and after they had converted a good number of pagans, he sent his troops, who joining with the new converts, subdued the country.* This imprudent answer cost the *Christians* very dear.

'Tis also alledged, That the *Dutch* raised base calumnies against these new proselytes in *Japan*, which in part occasioned a terrible persecution against them, whereby these merchants obtained their design to worm the *Portuguese* out of the trade of these rich islands, which they now possess, secluding all others. This is not the only instance of the unjustifiable methods the *Hollanders* have used, to engross to themselves the riches and trade of the *East-Indies*. The tragedy acted by them upon the *English* in *Amboyna*, one of the *Molucco* islands, in the year 1618, is another monument, that they stick at nothing to gain their purposes; of which a particular account may be seen in a little book, entitled, *The history of the cruelties and massacres committed by the Dutch in the East-Indies*, by *Robert Hall*, printed at *London* in 1712, in 8vo. and 'tis also printed in the *Appendix* to *Harris's* complete *Collection of Travels* *.

The persecution of missionaries continues to this day in *Japan*; for I find in the publick news from *Madrid*, *January* 30th, 1720, the following paragraph. *We have received letters from Madraspatan in the East-Indies, of the 25th of December 1718, That advice was come to that place, that the Abbot John Baptist Sidotti, a Sicilian, died in the country of Japan, in the torments he suffered for the Christian Faith; his zeal for the conversion of infidels induced him to go into that country, notwithstanding the severe laws of that government, whereby*

* *Appendix* to Vol. 2. pag. 8, &c.

all Europeans in general, and most particularly missionaries, are forbid coming there. He was no sooner arrived but he was taken up, and condemned to die; he was sent to the governour of the province, and after some small liberty allowed him, it being discovered he had converted some of the people of Japan to the Christian Faith, a very extraordinary punishment was inflicted upon him; for the infidels immured him with his hands tied between two walls, built so close that he could not stir himself, allowing him no other food than a little rice and water every evening. This torment soon put an end to his life; he died about the beginning of the year 1714.

The Japonese are now almost wholly Pagans. Monsieur Bale gives the following account of them from the *Abbot de T——*'s history of Japan, which being the fullest I have met with, I here insert *. The monarchy of Japan, says he, is divided into two states, *Ecclesiastick* and *Secular*; the first is composed of *Bonzes*, a name common to all the ministers of the Japonese Gods; they profess a celibacy, but do not observe it exactly; they abstain from flesh, shave their beards and hair, and conceal their debaucheries under the appearance of an austere life; they have a sovereign whom they call *Jaco* or *Xaco*, who has authority over all the rest of the judges, in affairs of Religion, and determines what ought to be practised concerning the worship of the Gods; and believed concerning the nature of them; he elects the *Tandes*, who dispose of things less important, and represent, in some manner, our bishops. They have two sorts of Gods; the first are *Demons*, whom they worship under several figures, not in hopes of receiving good from them, but from fear of being hurt by them. The second sort are kings, conquerors, and wise men, whom they have placed in the number of their Gods; the two principal are *Amida* and *Xaca*, the first is represented under several monstrous figures: in one of his temples which is at *Jedo*, he is carried on a horse with seven heads; the finest of his temples is at *Meaco*, 'tis 500 foot in length, there

* Bale's Critical Dictionary on the Word Japan,

there are in it 1000 idols of massy gold. As for *Saca* or *Xaca*, the *Bonzes* tell a thousand impertinent stories of him: they say he was born 800 times in different species before he was born of a woman; that when he was born, he came out of his mother's womb eating his way with his teeth.— The truth is, *Xaca* was a sophister, who persuaded the people every thing he had a mind to: his mother big with child of him, dreamed that a white elephant came out of her mouth, for which reason, elephants of that colour in several places of the *Indies*, as *China*, *Tonquin*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, are served in vessels of gold, and great lords go in crowds to visit them, and pay them honours as kings. One of the three principal sects of the *Japonese*, is that of the worshippers of *Xaca*, they live in common, rise at midnight, sing hymns, and meet every morning to hear a subject of discourse their superiors make on some moral subject; when 'tis over, one gives his superior an account of his thoughts, and the resolutions he has taken. They reckon a dozen sects or religious in *Japan*, every one is at liberty to chuse which he pleases, which occasions divisions; because, say they, understandings have no tie of relations, like bodies. Among these there are three principal; the first hope not for a life after this, and know no other substance than what strikes their senses; the second believe the immortality of the soul, and another life: this is followed by the best sort of people, and is called, *The sect of the most high God*. The third is that of the worshippers of *Xaca*. Some authors, says *Possevin**, maintain, That the most general division that can be made of the sects of the *Japonese*, is to rank under them such as make profession of sticking to *Appearance*, and others that seek *Reality* which does not strike sense, which they call *Truth*. Those that stick to *Appearance* admit another life after this, for eternal recompence of good men, and punishment of bad. They say, that in four cardinal points of the world there are certain countries, where the inhabitants are in a plenary satisfaction,

* Bibl. Selecta, Lib. 10.

which makes them enjoy a supreme felicity. That *Frotoque* made all the laws of *Japan*, and they who observe them shall no sooner leave this life, than they shall go into those places where they shall be born again; *Frotoque* shall transform them, and give 32 figures, and 80 qualities, with which they shall live eternally in a perfect beatitude. The women shall not be admitted into these countries, but those who shall be saved by observing the laws of *Frotoque*, shall be transformed into men. As for transgressors of his laws, they shall go from this life to infernal places, and shall suffer six sorts of punishments, which shall never have an end. This is the opinion of the ignorant and vulgar. Those who seek internal insensible *Reality*, reject heaven and hell, and teach things which have a great affinity with *Spinoza's* opinion; they symbolize with the *Epicureans*, taking from God the government of the world, as a thing contrary to his supreme tranquility, which, according to them, is all his felicity. Nay, they go further than *Epicurus*, for they deprive God of understanding and reason. *Possevin* censures the institutes of the *Japanese* legislature; 1st, That they command idolatry, chiefly the worship of *Camus* and *Frotoque*. 2^{dly}, That when they forbid the *Bonzes* the use of women, they allow *Pederastie* or *Sodomy*; they prohibit the former as abominable, and allow the latter as honest and holy. 3^{dly}, They forbid to kill certain beasts consecrated to *Camus* and *Frotoque*, and yet allow men to kill one another, yea even to be their own murderers in a most barbarous manner. *Hornbeeck* tells us *, That some of the *Japanese* pretending to religion, throw themselves headlong from a high castle in honour of a neighbouring idol, or go out to sea in a boat, with a hook to cut the briars and thorns that hinder the way to the seats of the blessed, and boring a hole in the bottom of the boat, and binding stones to their neck, arms, and feet, they drown themselves with or without the vessel; which, if it float, their friends in another boat take it up and burn it, thinking it indecent

* De Conversione Indorum, pag. 54. Sect. ult. & pag. 55.

decent that such a sacred relique should be converted to common uses ; and to such martyrs they erect temples and monuments, which in honour of the deceased are religiously frequented. Others shut themselves up in a den within the earth, where they breathe thro' a pipe, and call on their God *Amida*, till they be killed with hunger. Among these wretches, the devil hath so many martyrs. Yea, he says, that the *Japonesse* have 13000 idols, of whom none are wanting in the king's court. Finally, the laws of *Japan* declare, *That by the invocation of Namuam-dabut, all crimes may be expiated, without any kind of repentance.* To such a height of wickedness and superstition do men go, when they want divine revelation !

There are some parts of *Asia* not yet discovered, called *Terra Australis incognita*, where the people we suppose are heathens, but we have no information concerning them. I have seen a history of the *Severaites* or *Severambi*, a people in that continent, said to be writ by one Captain *Siden* *, who, with many others, were shipwreck'd on those coasts, and lived many years in the country. The story is diverting enough, and he describes them as a very polite people ; but I look on it as a romance.

Neither do I know of any other considerable country in *Asia* beside those we have discoursed of, generally inhabited by heathens. As to the large territories possessed by *Mabometans*, and *Christians* of the *Greek* church tolerated among them, my present design does not oblige me to give any account of them.

What hath already been said in the first and fifth chapters of this *Essay*, concerning *the Unity of God, the Truth of the Christian Religion, and the Vanity of Paganism*, does abundantly discover the absurdity of all the idolatry and superstition these heathenish countries are guilty of. The same may be observed of the heathens in *Africa* and *America*. The *Christian Religion*, when rightly understood, is one and the same ; 'tis agreeable to sound reason, and founded upon one infallible rule,

The holy Word of God: but all these Pagan Religions are so unreasonable, as to overturn themselves, and so widely disagreeing, being founded upon no certain rule, as to refute and overturn one another. This then confirms what hath been above demonstrated, of the insufficiency of nature's light to conduct men to true happiness, and of the necessity of divine relation; since these Religions invented by men, or by the enemy of mankind, are so absurd and soul-ruining. And finally, the deplorable condition these heathenish countries are in, should move our bowels of pity to plead at the throne of grace for their conversion, and to use our utmost endeavours to effectuate it, that both we and they may be members of the same mystical body of Christ, and may serve him as those redeemed by his merit, and sanctified by his spirit; then *shall the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever; then shall piety and holiness revive, the righteousness of Zion go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth.* But of this more afterward, mean time I pass to

Africa: The southern parts thereof infected with *Gentilism*, which lie toward the *Ethiopick* ocean, were first discovered to us in *Europe* by *Vasco di Gama*, when, by the direction of the King of *Portugal*, he sailed into the *East-Indies*, in the year 1497. The northern parts of *Africa* that lie towards the *Mediterranean* sea, had once many beautiful Christian Churches; *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Augustine*, *Fulgentius*, and other fathers of the primitive church lived in these bounds. There, many councils of the Christians assembled, particularly that of *Carthage*, under *Aurelius* their bishop in the year 419, where legates from the rest of the provinces, as the *Numidia's*, *Byzacen*, *Mauritania's*, *Tripoli*, and the rest of the proconsular *Africa*, were present. But now, alas! all these places are sadly over-run with *Mahometanism*.

There are few *Christian Churches* now to be found in *Africa*, except those in the large country of *Abyssinia*,
called

called the empire of *Preſter-John*, containing the great and higher *Ethiopia*, a kingdom 1500 miles long, and half as broad. Because the hiſtory of that church may be inſtructing to every body, and particularly uſeful to miſſionaries, I here inſert an abſtract thereof. *Michael Geddes*, doctor of divinity, during his nine years reſidence at *Lisbon*, furniſhed himſelf with all the *Portugueſe* books that do any way concern *Ethiopia*, and has given us a curious hiſtory of that church. From him principally I ſhall offer ſome account of their affairs. 'Tis a conſtant tradition among them, that the Queen of *Sheba*, who went to viſit *Solomon*, was empreſs in their country; her name, they ſay, was *Maqueda*: within a few weeks after ſhe returned home, ſhe was delivered of a ſon begot by *Solomon* called *Meneleber* *; when he was of age, he went to *Jeruſalem*, where his father entertained him kindly, and inſtructed him in the *Jewiſh* Religion, changing his name to that of *David*, he ſent home with him Priests and Levites to inſtruct his country. 'Tis alſo reported among them, that the *Eunuch* who was baptized by *Philip* the deacon, was ſteward to their empreſs, who returning home after his baptiſm converted his miſtreſs, and her whole empire to the Chriſtian Religion, in the profeſſion whereof they have ſince continued ſtedfaſt. Theſe things are uncertain.

But we find it recorded by *Ruffinus* †, that in the beginning of the fourth Century, one *Meropius* a Chriſtian philoſopher in *Tyre*, going into *India* with two of his ſcholars, *Fruementius* and *Edeſius*, had the miſfortune to touch on the coaſt of *Ethiopia*, where *Meropius* was murdered by the natives; but his two ſcholars having their lives ſpared, and being found to be youths of fine parts as well as beauty, they were carried to court, where *Fruementius* was put into the ſecretary's office, and *Edeſius* made butler. When the emperor came to die, he gave them both their liberty; but as they

* *Geddes's Hiſtory of Ethiopia*, printed at London 1696. in 8vo.

† *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

they were preparing to return home, the queen regent importuned them to stay, and undertake the tutelage of her son till he was of age : which they consenting to do, during that time wrote to all the *Roman* merchants residing in the ports of *Ethiopia*, who were *Christians*, to assemble together to worship God, as they did daily. When their pupil the young king came to administer the government, they both desired leave to return home ; which being obtained with great difficulty, *Edesius* went to *Tyre* to live with his relations, and *Fruventius* went directly to *Alexandria* : thinking it unreasonable to conceal this doing of the Lord, he reported the same to *Athanasius* then bishop of that place, desiring him to provide some proper persons, and send them to edify the Church of Christ in these bounds. *Athanasius*, overjoy'd with the news, said to *Fruventius*, *Whom can we find so proper as your self, in whom the Spirit of God is ?* and for that end ordained him. He returning to the country, which *Ruffinus* indeed calls *India*, but this being a general name the *Romans* gave to those parts they were not acquainted with, 'tis probable, by the context of the story, that it was the higher *Ethiopia* or *Abyssinia* ; there he did convert an incredible number of these people to the Christian Faith ; for he had given him an apostolical spirit, and to this day the *Christian Church* and *Priesthood* continues in that country. *Ruffin* says, he had this account from the mouth of *Edesius* a presbyter at *Tyre*, the companion of *Fruventius*. *Fruventius* continued orthodox, in opposition to the *Arians*, even to the time of the Emperor *Constantius*, as appears by his letter to the princes of *Axum*, recorded in *Athanasius's* apology. About the year 480, nine monks are said to have been sent from *Rome* into *Ethiopia*. The Emperor *Justinian* being engaged in a war with the *Persians* in the year 530, sent one *Julian* ambassador to the king of the *Axumites*, or *African Ethiopians*, and to the king of the *Homerites*, a nation inhabiting the *Asiatick* coast of the *Red-Sea* opposite to *Ethiopia*, to engage them, being *Christians*, to assist him against
the

the *Persians*, the common enemy of their Religion. These are some hints of the ancient history of the church of *Ethiopia*, which are also observed by Dr. *Geddes* *.

But there are two things I shall principally remark concerning that church, their doctrine, and the methods the church of *Rome* have used to subject them to the Pope, with the success of the same. As to their doctrine and religious rites, in *Abyssinia* any who inclines to be a monk, retires to a desert, where he puts on what habit he pleaseth, so long as they profess themselves monks, which they are always at liberty to give over: they are obliged to fast every day in the year till three a-clock in the afternoon, and to assemble at midnight and other stated hours for devotion. They are very strict in their fasts, some of them never eating but on *Sundays*. Their monasteries are more like villages than *Roman* convents, every monk having his distinct dwelling-house, with as much land laid to it as a man is able to cultivate. When they come to die, they dispose of their goods as they please, only the land still remains to the monastery; this course falls in with that of the primitive monks, who lived in the deserts, wrought hard, and were under no vows. But the *Popish* monks have their monasteries in populous cities, they're hurry'd into them, fetter'd by vows for their whole life, and become lazy to a proverb. The most famous of the *Ethiopian* monasteries is that of *Allelujah*, where formerly there are said to have been 40000 monks, the whole country round being given to them to cultivate. *I do not find*, says Dr. *Geddes* †, *That any sort of learning did ever flourish among the Abyssinians; they have but few books except the bible, the canons of the first councils, and lives of their saints. They hold the Scriptures to be the perfect rule of the Christian Faith, insomuch, as they deny it to be in the power of a general council to oblige people to believe any thing as an article of Faith, without express warrant from the word* of

* Church-History of *Ethiopia*, pag. 15, to 29.

† Ibidem, pag. 31.

of God. Their Scripture canon consists of eighty five books, viz. of the Old Testament forty six, and of the new thirty nine.

Concerning our Saviour's Incarnation, they are all *Eutychians*, holding there is but one nature in *Christ*, that is the divine, by which they maintain the human is swallowed up. They were led into this heresy by *Dioscorus* the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was condemned for it by the council of *Chalcedon*, whose authority they reject. They allow the bishop of *Rome* to be the first patriarch, but condemn his pretended supremacy over the whole church as *Antichristian*, and do detest *Papery* to that degree, that, of the two, they would rather turn *Mahometans* than *Papists*. The supreme authority over all persons and causes is in the emperor, whether in matters ecclesiastical or civil; they have but one bishop at a time, who is called *Abuna*, that is, *our Father*; he is always an *Alexandrian* monk: upon notice of a vacancy, he is consecrated and sent into *Ethiopia* by the *Alexandrian* patriarch, to whom this church has been always subject; he ordains only by imposition of hands, he has considerable lands and revenues. Their priests may marry after they are in orders, and as often as they are widowers. They have divers forms of baptism, they circumcise both males and females, and baptize all every year on the feast of *Epiphany*. They hold, that men derive their souls no less than their bodies from their parents; and that the children of *Christian* parents, especially of a *Christian* mother, are saved, tho' they die without baptism.

They celebrate the *Eucharist* but once a day in a church, at which none must be present without communicating. The laity as well as the clergy receive the cup; they do not elevate nor worship the consecrated elements, neither are they kept after the communion; they consecrate unleavened bread, which they break after consecration; they reckon the receiving of the Sacrament breaks their fast, and therefore receive it not on a fasting-day till three a-clock in the afternoon. They do not believe Transubstantiation, as appears by their
Liturgy,

Liturgy, where the words of the institution are thus set down, *This bread is my body, this cup is my blood*; which propositions, by the *Romanists* themselves, cannot be understood otherwise than figuratively. *Paul di Roo*, secretary to the *Dutch East-India* company, was in the year 1691, told by the *Abyssinian* ambassador at *Batavia*, *That Transubstantiation, and Adoration of the consecrated bread in the Eucharist, were what the Habassins abhorred. They communicate standing* *. They confess their sins only in general, saying, *Habassea, I have sinned*. They deny *Purgatory*, and know nothing of *Confirmation*, nor of *Extreme Unction*: they condemn graven images, and keep both *Saturday* and *Sunday*, and never fast on either of them, no not in *Lent*. Their divine offices are all in the vulgar tongue, and are performed with extraordinary devotion, but especially their litanies. Whenever they come into any place where there is a church, let their business be ever so urgent, they repair to it immediately, but never go into church with their shoes on, nor sit down in it, unless upon the ground; on all occasions expressing a deep sense of Religion, chiefly when they visit the sick, which they are forward to do. They are charitable to the poor, and strangers, except those of the *Romish* church, whom they mortally hate, because of the cruel persecution raised by the *Jesuits*. The whole of their divine service consists in reading of the *Scriptures*, some homilies of the fathers, and in administration of the sacraments, preaching being a rare exercise among them.

I come now to give a brief account of the methods the church of *Rome* hath used, to subject this church of *Ethiopia* to the Pope. In the year 1490, *Caviltham* a *Portuguese* first entered *Abyssinia*: in 1509, *Helena* grandmother to *David* the Precious *John*, wrote a letter to *Emmanuel* the king of *Portugal*, and sent *Matthew* her ambassador to that court. *David* Emperor of *Ethiopia*, sent other letters to the same *Emanuel*, and to *Clement* the third Pope of *Rome*, by *Francis Alvarez* his

* *Jesuits Travels, English Edition, pag. 3.*

his envoy, a copy of which letters is in Dr. *Geddes's* book *, with an account of the *Habassian* religion and rites, writ at *Lisbon* in the year 1534, by the hand of *Zagazaba* the *Ethiopian* ambassador. While these things were a doing, *David* King of *Ethiopia* was involved in a cruel war, brought upon him by his new correspondence with the *Portuguese*, who having enlarged their trade and conquests in the *East-Indies*, made their name formidable over the eastern part of the world. The *Habassin*, as appears by his letters, did expect nothing less by his new allies, than the utter extirpation of his infidel neighbours, Heathens and *Mahometans*. But they all conspired to prevent this dangerous consequence, by disabling the *Habassin*, before any *Portuguese* troops could come to his assistance. In prosecution of this design, *Ahamed*, nick-named *Granbe* or Left-hand, a *Mahometan* prince, joined his forces with those of the King of *Adel*, fought and totally ruined the *Habassin* army; the king himself retired to the mountains, where he skulked about for two years, in which time *Granbe* made himself master of the best part of the empire, burning down the churches, or prophaning them by turning them into mosques. *David* perceiving his empire in imminent danger, dispatched *John Bermudes* a *Portuguese*, who had been several years in *Ethiopia*, to *Rome*, for succours to prevent the ruin of a Christian kingdom; and to render him more acceptable, he obliged *Mark* the *Abuna*, to consecrate *Bermudes*, then a lay-man, bishop; yea, to declare him his successor in the see of *Ethiopia*. *Bermudes* arrived at *Rome* in the year 1538, where Pope *Paul* the Third allowed his orders to be valid, and confirmed his nomination to the patriarchate of *Ethiopia*; but left all the other expence of the succours to the king of *Portugal*, who gave only an order to the viceroy of the *Indies*, to send four or five hundred musqueteers, to succour the King of *Ethiopia*. Some years passed before even these came, and in the mean time *David* died, and left *Claudius* his successor, under whom
the

* History of *Ethiopia*, pag. 50 ——— 117.

the *Ethiopian* empire began a little to revive, tho' yet in great distress. A fleet of *Portuguese*, about this time, touched at *Matzua* a port in *Ethiopia*, where the *Habassin* envoys waited on the admiral, and prevailed with him to spare them four hundred men, with a small train of artillery, to prevent the loss of their empire. These auxiliaries, under the conduct of *Don Stephen du Gama*, son to the famous *Vasco du Gama*, are said to have performed wonders, if we credit the *Portuguese* historians. But at last *Gama* was routed, taken prisoner, and lost his head. After this the king of *Ethiopia* recovered strength, fights and routs his adversary *Granbe*, who was killed in battel. When he obtained the peaceable possession of his kingdom, he complimented the remaining *Portuguese*, for the kind assistance they had given him; but when they teased him to become *Roman Catholick*, he came to a rupture with them, and accused them of impertinence and insolence *.

In the year 1554, *Ignatius Loyola*, founder of the order of the *Jesuits*, begged of the Pope his orders to go to *Ethiopia* in person, to promote the submission of that church; this being declined, he, with indefatigable diligence, procured a splendid mission of friars of his order, to be sent thither, viz. *John Nunnez Barreto*, a *Portuguese*, to go as patriarch; *Andrew Oviedo* a *Spaniard*, and *Melchior Corneiro* a *Portuguese*, as coadjutors, with ten *Jesuits* their companions. The Pope's bull, for consecrating the patriarch, bears date at *Rome*, February 17th, 1554; but by reason of some accidents, these missionaries did not arrive in *Ethiopia*, before March 1557. They were admitted to an audience of the emperor *Claudius*, with abundance of ceremony; but he continued stedfast in the Faith of the *Habassin* Church, neither their conferences, letters, nor even their excommunication thundered out against him †, could persuade him to submit to the Pope; at last he was slain, fighting against the *Mahometans*, who

* *Geddes's Church-History of Ethiopia*, pag. 145.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 197. ———

who had invaded his country in the year 1559. He was succeeded by his brother *Adam*, who declared himself an irreconcilable enemy to the *Church of Rome*; the first act of his government, was to prohibit all *Habassins* whatsoever, under severe penalties, to go into the *Latin Church*; ordering any woman that turned papist, to be whipped, and the men to undergo severe punishment. He gave this reason for this rigid procedure, *That tolerating popery in Ethiopia, had cost his brother his life and empire, with a vast treasure of money, and blood.* In order therefore to extirpate it, he took all the lands his brother had given the *Portuguese*, and even their children from them, committing them to such as would educate them in the *Alexandrian Faith*. He commanded *Oviedo* the coadjutor, to be thrown into prison, threatening to burn him and his Jesuits alive, if they did not give over corrupting his people with their false doctrines *. No wonder, for he found them fomenting a rebellion in his country, in expectation of succours from *Portugal*. *Adam* was killed in battle, and succeeded by his son *Malac-Saged*, who hated the missionaries as much as his father. *Oviedo*, upon the news of *Barreto's* death at *Goa*, December 1562, declared himself patriarch, but this did not mend the matter. The *Church of Rome* finding this nominal patriarch could do them no service in *Ethiopia*, recalled him, and he died at *Cremona*, July 9th, 1567. Thus ended this mission, neither to the honour of the Jesuits, nor to the advantage of *Ethiopia*.

For many years after this, the church of *Rome* seems to have taken no care to proselyte the *Habassin* church; but upon *Philip* of *Spain's* accession to the crown of *Portugal*, they resumed the thoughts of it: but several of their missionary friars died on the road. At length, *Peter Pays*, a cunning *Spanish* Jesuit, steals into *Ethiopia*, in the year 1603; the Emperor *Asnaf-Sagued* invited him to court, and shewed him great favour †; he charmed the Emperor, by causing two boys to repeat exactly

* *Geddes's Church-History of Ethiopia*, pag. 202.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 240.

exactly the *Roman Catechism* in the *Habassin* tongue before him: the Father was allowed to preach and celebrate mass at court, with which the emperor declared himself delighted, and told Father *Peter* in secret, that being now fully convinced, that the Pope was the head of the universal church, he was resolved to submit himself to him, and desire him to send a patriarch, and a competent number of friars into *Ethiopia*, to instruct his people in the true Faith *, and had ordered letters to the Pope, and the King of *Portugal*, concerning this affair. However, the Emperor being afterward killed in battle, the message was not sent. Some conceive the Jesuit was privy to the conspiracy. After some controversy concerning the successor, *Suseneus* conquered his adversaries, and was advanced to the throne, taking the name of *Seltem-Saged*. The Jesuits congratulated him, and persuaded him of the truth of Christ's two natures, chiefly by a passage in his own *Hamanet-Aben*, a book of the same nature with *Bibliotheca Patrum*, where it was asserted, that doctrine was believed by all the ancient doctors of the church; and, that *Dioscorus* patriarch of *Alexandria*, was the first bishop that ever denied it. *Raz Cella Christos*, viceroy of *Goam*, the Emperor's brother, a prince of great heat, was also convinced in the year 1612. Nothing would serve him, but he would publicly declare himself a *Roman Catholic*, reckoning the *Alexandrians*, who had so grossly imposed upon him in one particular, had misled him in every point, wherein they differed from the *Roman Church*. Very kind letters were delivered to the Emperor from the King of *Spain*, and from the Pope, congratulating his accession to the throne, and thanking him for his kindness to the Friars, and exhorting him to continue devoted to the *Catholick Church*: that from the Pope, bears date at *Rome*, *January* 4th, 1611. The Emperor returned letters, and sent ambassadors to these courts; but by a trick of those who adhered to the *Alexandrian* Faith, the envoys were stript of their equipage,

* *Geddes's History of Ethiopia*, pag. 250.

equipage, and sent back the way they came *. Popery now growing fashionable, every ambitious courtier began to carels the fathers, and to call their own clergy hypocrites and dunces.

But the country, which is seldom fond of court fashions, roared against the emperor and his brother, at a terrible rate, as bigotted papists. The *Habassin Abuna* or patriarch, not being able to hinder those methods the court was taking, left it in great wrath, and thundered out an excommunication against all, not excepting the Emperor, who had or should submit themselves to the pope. This provoked the Emperor to emit a proclamation, making it death to deny there were two natures in Christ; an edict also desiring all his subjects to embrace the *Roman Faith*; and another ordering his subjects to work on *Saturdays*. I place these together, for brevity's sake. The Emperor flighting all addressees against these measures, his people broke out into open rebellion. Tho' the rebels were defeated, and their old *Abuna* slain in battel, yet the *Habassins* continued very discontent, especially when they heard their Emperor had abjured all the *Alexandrian* errors to Father *Peter*, and made a confession of his whole life to him, who thereupon gave him absolution, and reconciled him to the Pope †. The poor father, overcome with joy at this conversion, outlived it but a few days. All this being notified at *Rome*, by letters from *Ethiopia*, the Pope, at the sollicitation of the General of the *Jesuits*, ordered *Manuel de Almeyda* as his nuncio, to go from the *Indies* to *Ethiopia*, to render thanks to the Emperor for his zeal toward the *Catholic Religion*, and to exhort him to persevere in so good a work. The nuncio, with some Friars, did arrive in *Ethiopia*, in the year 1629, and were kindly received at court. In this situation of affairs, the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid* thought it high time to send a patriarch and coadjutors to *Ethiopia*. Accordingly *Alfonso Mendez* was named patriarch, and *James de Seeo*, and *John da Rooba*, bishops of *Nice* and *Hierapolis*, his coadjutors.

They

* *Geddes's History of Ethiopia*, pag. 299. † *Ibidem*, pag. 319.

They having obtained their dispensations and bulls, were consecrated at *Lisbon*, and sent to *Goa*, from which place, by letters of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, and his brother, they were invited to court. To which they came (the *Habassin* court is a royal camp, with a great many tents) and were received with great solemnity by all the court converts. In a few days, the Emperor, his brother, and others of the court, made a formal submission to the Pope, confirmed with an oath *; and a revenue was settled on the patriarch, much greater than any of the former *Abunas* ever enjoyed.

The Jesuits now reckoned their work done, but the storm was only gathering against them. The body of the people in *Ethiopia* turned impatient of such changes, and murdered some missionaries, for saying *Roman* mass †, and rose in *Rebellion* against the Emperor. Tho' the rebels were defeated, and the Emperor's own son-in-law killed at their head, this did not mend the matter. For the papists raised a cruel persecution against the whole country, who still adhered to the *Alexandrian* Faith; they caused a lady of quality to be hanged; others, who for conscience sake had forsaken all they had in the world, and hid themselves in caves and dens of the earth, were either ferreted out of their holes to be burnt, if they would not turn *Roman Catholics*, or smoaked to death in them ||. These methods inflamed the people, they wanted only an opportunity to express their displeasure, which thus offered. The Emperor's brother, *Raz Cella Christos*, the great patron of popery, being discovered to plot with the Jesuits, to bring in a *Portuguese* army into *Ethiopia*, in order to make himself Emperor, this set the prince, the heir apparent of the crown, on his guard, and gave a blow to the designs of the popish party.

The rash zeal of the new patriarch also hastened their ruin; he commanded the corps of an eminent Monk, who had been General of the whole order of *Tecla Haymont*, to be taken out of the grave where he

* *Geddes's History of Ethiopia*, pag. 342.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 347.

|| *Ibidem*, pag. 353.

had been buried within the church, and to be thrown into the open fields, because he declared at his death, that he died in the *Alexandrian*, not in the *Roman Faith*. The *Peasants* of *Lasta* having defeated some of the Emperor's troops, he hearkned to the advice of his subjects so far, as to incline to give a toleration to those of the *Alexandrian Faith*; which the patriarch opposed with all his might, so as no indemnity was then granted. The *Peasants* then in great numbers rose in open rebellion, and the Emperor marched his whole force against them, defeated them, and killed eight thousand on the spot. Next morning, when he viewed the field of battel, his grandees addressed him with tears in their eyes, saying *, “ Sir, how many
 “ dead bodies lie here? These are not the bodies of
 “ *Mahometans* or *Heathens*, but of *Christians*; your
 “ Highness's natural born subjects, our blood and
 “ kindred. Tho' you conquer, you thrust a sword
 “ into your own bowels. How many thousands have
 “ been massacred? How many thousands must be, be-
 “ fore popery can be established in *Ethiopia*? For
 “ God's sake let your people alone with the Religion
 “ of their fore-fathers, which you must either do, or
 “ ruin the empire with your own hands.” This so moved the Emperor, as he soon emitted the following proclamation †: “ *Hear, Hear*, we formerly gave
 “ you the *Roman Faith*, believing it to be true, but
 “ innumerable multitudes of my people having been slain
 “ on that account, under *Julius, Gergis, Cerca, Christos*,
 “ &c. as now also among the *Peasants*; we do there-
 “ fore restore the Religion of your fore-fathers to
 “ you, so that your priests are to take possession of
 “ your churches again, and officiate therein as for-
 “ merly.” This proclamation was received with in-
 expressible joy; every body declared themselves of the *Alexandrian Faith*, even the new converts to popery, threw their beads and reliques into the bonfires.

The Emperor died the latter end of that year, and his son *Facilidas* or *Basilides*, was proclaimed his successor;

* *Geddes's History*, pag. 383.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 394.

cessor ; he sent for the patriarch, and all the popish fathers, and banished them all to *Fremona*, and thence to the *Indies*. While they staid in *Ethiopia*, they endured a thousand hardships, narrated by Dr. *Geddes*. In the year 1634, they were transported to *Dio* in the *East-Indies* *. Four of the fathers, who were found afterward lurking in the country, were hanged †. The college at *Rome*, for propagating the Faith, did not think fit to send any more Jesuits from *Portugal* into *Ethiopia*, but named six *French Capuchins* to go thither : two of them were murdered by the *Casres* ; two passed into *Egypt*, and having got into the kingdom of *Tigre*, by the way of *Matzua*, in the habit of merchants, as soon as they were discovered to be popish priests, they were put to death ; the Emperor having by a law required any who discovered popish missionaries, immediately to kill them, without troubling the court any more with them. Two *Italian Capuchins*, with one *French* man, remaining alive of the former mission, came to *Suaqubem* in the year 1646, and wrote to the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, to permit them to come and preach in his dominions, they being of the same Faith with himself ; he returned them no answer, only wrote to the *Bashaw* of *Suaqubem*, *To ease him of these, and of all the Friars that should come into his port at any time, for he could not have one day's quiet from them in his kingdom ; complaining, That tho' he had rooted out all the Portuguese, a new set of people were come to disturb him, upon new pretences.* The *Bashaw*, glad of an occasion to gratify the *Habassin* Emperor, caused the three Friars to be put to death, and sent him their heads ; and the Emperor, as a present, returned him three bags of gold dust, promising him as many bags of such dust, as he should at any time send him heads of *Roman* Friars.

After this, *Basilides* having, by a total extirpation of popery out of his empire, quieted the minds of his sub-

* *Geddes's History*, pag. 433.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 446.

jects, set about recovering the provinces his infidel neighbours had, during the *Habassin* broils about Religion, tore from his predecessors, and was so prosperous in his wars, as to regain most of them. If *Morad* the *Ethiopian* ambassador, did not stretch his narrative, *Basilides* extended his empire northward, to the confines of *Nubia*, and southward to *Hadea*; the people of which kingdom were converted by him to the Christian Faith. He reigned 32 years, and was succeeded by his son *Adlaf-Saged*, in the year 1665, who was succeeded by his son *Jaso Accdan-Saged*, in the year 1681. He that desires to know more of *Ethiopia*, may read *Ludolphus* and Dr. *Geddes's* histories of that country.

The travels of the Jesuits in *Ethiopia*, by father *Balthasar Telles*, has the substance of this whole affair; tho' they may differ in some circumstances, yet in my opinion, they confirm the account we have given already from Dr. *Geddes*: these travels are translated into *English*, and printed in 1710. There is an edition of the Jesuits Letters, at *Paris*, in ten volumes; the fourth of these wholly concerns *Ethiopia*. Father *Brevedent*, and *Monf. Ponret*, a physician, designed to go into that country, but the former died on the way; the physician only accomplished his voyage to the court of the king of *Ethiopia*, and returned; his travels were from the year 1698, to 1700: there is nothing in them that contradicts the narrative I have given from Dr. *Geddes*, nor any appearance of that church ever submitting to the see of *Rome*; he gives this evidence of the great numbers of the *Ethiopian* Clergy *, *That at one ordination, the patriarch ordained ten thousand priests, and six thousand deacons.*

To this day the *Habassins* continue in the same irreconcilable hatred to the church of *Rome*; for the publick letters from *Madrid*, of June 30th, 1720, say, *We have received an account, that Father Laberat Vaiz* a German, *Michael Pio de Cervo, and Samuel de Biuno, natives of the Milaneze, monks of the order of St. Francis, who, after having escaped many perils, were arrived in*
Ethiopia.

* Lettres Edifiantes du Recueil 4. pag. 81.

Ethiopia, with a design to convert to the Roman Catholic Faith, the natives of that country, were arrived at Gondar, and carried before the king, the metropolitan, and the chief men both of the clergy and state, by whom they were sentenced to die, unless they would abjure the Faith of the council of Chalcedon; which, with the utmost constancy, they refused to do, whereupon they were given up to the fury of the people, who stoned them to death; the metropolitan having threatned to excommunicate every one who should cast less than seven stones at them.

We have been perhaps long enough on the church of *Ethiopia*, let us now take a view of the state of Paganism in *Africa*.

Tho' *Ethiopia* the higher be Christian, as is related, yet a great part of *Africa* is under black, heathenish darknes. The large country of *Guinea*, lying within the torrid zone, is inhabited by *Negroes*; their Religion, if it may be so called, is Paganism. They greet the new-moon with horrible roarings, and strange gestures of adoration; they offer their sacrifices in the woods, before great hollow-trees, wherein their idols are placed; yet this they do rather out of custom than zeal, using neither form nor method in their devotion: every one making a God after their own fancy*. They believe, when people die, they go into another world, and will have occasion for many of the same things they use here, and therefore put part of their household stuff into the grave with the dead corps; and if they lose any thing, they imagine their friends in the other world had need of it, and have taken it away. They have no letters nor books, yet keep *Tuesday* for a sabbath, forbearing then their fishing and husbandry, and in the midst of the market-place they place a table on four pillars, about three yards high, whose flat cover is made of straw and reeds woven together, upon which they place many straw-rings called *Fetissoes*

* *English Acquisitions on the Coast of Guinea*, pag. 17. and following.

or Gods, and within them set wheat, water and oil for their God, who they imagine devours it. Their priest they call *Fetissero*, who every festival day places a seat on that table, and preaches to the people; but what his doctrine is, the *Europeans* cannot understand. After this, the women offer him their infants, whom he sprinkles with water, wherein a living snake swims; with the same he sprinkles the table, then uttering certain words very loud, and stroaking the children with some kind of colours, as if giving them his blessing, he himself drinks of the water, the people clapping their hands and crying, *You, You*, and so he dismisseth the assembly. Many of the *Negroes* wear such straw-rings next their bodies, to preserve them from the mischief which their angry Gods might inflict upon them, in honour of whom they daub themselves with a kind of chalky earth, which is their morning prayer. At their eating, the first bit and the first draught is consecrated to their *Fetisso*. When the king sacrifices to his *Fetisso*, he commands his priest or *Fetissero* to enquire of a tree, to which he ascribes divinity, what he will demand: the priest daubs a branch of the tree with ashes and water, and pretends the *Demon* answers the king's questions. The nobility likewise adore certain trees, esteeming them oracles, and report, the devil appears to them sometimes as a black dog, at other times answers them without any visible apparition. Some worship a bird called *Pittoie*, spotted as it were with stars, resembling the voice of a bull; to hear this bird lowe in their journey is reckoned a good omen, and therefore they set a vessel of water and wheat in the place where they hear it. Yea, they canonize certain fishes, as the *Tunny*. The very mountains are not without honour; if they did not pacify their anger by presents of meat and drink, they believe they would bend their fullen brows, and overwhelm the earth. When it thunders, rains hard, or the wind blows strong, there is not one of them to be seen in the streets, all hide themselves in their houses, and cry, *The Gods of the whites are angry*. The devil is so dreadful to them, they tremble at naming

him, and say, *He beats them and makes them do evil things.* They make great lamentations, with odd ceremonies, upon the death of their friends. If the king dies, greater solemnity is used; his nobles thinking so great a person ought to have attendants, one offers him a servant, another his wife, a third his son or daughter, even many of both sexes to wait upon him, who are all suddenly slain, and their bloody carcases buried with him *; yea, the king's wives who loved him best refuse not this last service, but are willing to die, that they may again live with him. The heads of the slain are set upon poles round the sepulchre, meat, drink, cloaths, and arms are buried with them. The *Negroes* have as many wives as they can maintain, but the first has the preheminance, her husband can never take another but by her permission †; but because multitudes of wives and children are counted the greatest honour and riches in that country, they often persuade their husbands to take more, and glory therein.

Near Cape *Miserado*, the people believe the God whom they call *Kanno*, will punish all their misdeeds, and reward the well-doers; and therefore, when oppressed, call for his aid to do them justice ‖. They imagine, their friends, after their death, become spirits, whom they call *Jannanen*, and know all transactions here below, and therefore they entertain familiar colloquies with them, acquainting them with all their adversities. When they go to hunt in the woods elephants, buffaloes, or upon any other dangerous enterprize, they go first and offer to the spirit of their deceased parents a cow, wine, or rice, which they leave on the grave. The king calls upon the souls of his father and mother, almost in every matter of difficulty.

The great country of *Nigritia*, or the land of the *Blacks*, lies from the 11th to the 23d degree north latitude, and in breadth from the 6th to the 50th degree of longitude; its inhabitants are generally *Pagan Idolaters*, some *Mahometans* are among them: those
who

* *English Acquisitions in Guinea*, pag. 23.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 6.

‖ *Ibidem*, pag. 29.

who inhabit the desarts have little either of religion or laws; in some few places there are old Christians, tho' much corrupted.

In the *Lower Ethiopia*, which from south to north extends 54 leagues, and from east to west 120 *; their Religion consists of foolish, heathenish superstition, they invoke domestick and field *Demons*, and have little or no knowledge of God; the same may be said of the people of *Calingo* and *Goy*.

In *Anfico* and *Jagos* the sun is their God, whom they represent under the figure of a man, and the moon of a woman; they adore also a number of false Deities, whom they consult in all their undertakings. Some authors say †, *That the people called Jagos, have publick shambles, where they buy man's flesh for food, that the fathers eat the son's, and the son the father's flesh, without horror! their bellies are the living graves where they bury the dead. They wander like Arabians from place to place, armed with an ax, a bow and arrows, living only by theft and slaughter; they are spread almost thro' all Africa, but the most part of them make incursions into the kingdom of Anfico.*

I shall discourse more fully of the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola* in the following chapter; and therefore shall only here remark, that the inhabitants of these places, before the *Portuguese* entred their country, were idolaters, every one worshipped what he pleased for his God, so as some adore serpents, vipers, dragons, tygers, herbs and trees; they fall down flat on their faces before their idols. The *Portuguese* promoted Christianity there, according to the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, but the inhabitants were never good Christians, rather real hypocrites.

Cafreria, or the coast of *Castares*, reaches from the kingdom of *Mataman*, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and then ascends northward as far as the coasts of *Zanguebar*, encompassing the empires of *Monemugi* and *Monomotapa*, except on the north-side of them; the inhabi-

* Thesaurus Geographicus, pag. 461.

† Great Historical Dictionary on the Word *Jagos*.

inhabitants are called *Hottentots*, they live in great ignorance, but begin to get a little more understanding by their commerce with the *Europeans*; there are some remainders of natural light among them; their love to each other, their fidelity, and contempt of riches, may make *Christians* ashamed *. They are seldom guilty of any extravagance or theft, unless they be drunk with eating the root *Daba*, or are in extreme poverty. As for their Religion, they acknowledge a supreme Being, which governs the winds, rain, seasons, heat, and cold; but do not think themselves obliged to worship him. Some of them give a kind of worship to the moon. Some part of the eastern-coast toward *Sosola* are *Mabometans*, and some few of them profess *Christianity*, by the influence of the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* who resort among them.

Mr. *Burton* gives us an odd account of the people of the bay of *Soldania*, near the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is a part of the country of the *Castares* or *Cafres*. He says *, nor do other authors contradict his report, *That they expose their old people when they grow decrepit and troublesome, to be devoured by wild beasts, of which there are many in that country; that their speech seems rather an inarticulate noise, like the gabbling of turkies, than a language. Their habits are sheep skins undressed, thonged together, which cover their bodies to the middle, with a little flap of the same tied before them, being naked downwards; when 'tis cold, they put the wool, and when hot, the fleshy part of these skins next their body. Their ornaments or jewels, are bullocks or sheeps guts full of excrements about their necks; when they are hungry, they sit down upon some billock, first shaking some of that filthy pudding out of the guts about their neck, then bowing down their mouths to their hands, almost as low as their knees; like hungry dogs, they gnaw and eat the raw guts.—The women are habited and dieted in the same manner; both sexes make coverings for their heads of cows dung mingled with stinking grease, they besmear their faces with it,*

* *Thesaurus Geographicus*, pag. 465.

† *English Acquisitions*, pag. 139, &c.

it, which makes their company insufferable; and yet any of these people, weary of the best entertainment England could afford, would long to return to wallow in their own puddle. They sell to English, Dutch, and to ships of other nations, bullocks and cows for pieces of brass and tobacco, of which we have frequent accounts in Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels.

The kingdom of *Monomotapa* is bounded on the west, south and east with the coast of *Cafrerie*, on the north with the mountains of the *Moon*, and in the north-east with *Sofola* and *Monemugi*; its extent from south to north is about 300 leagues, and from west to east about 240. The Emperor is an absolute prince, his subjects pay him great reverence. As to Religion, they are most of them heathen idolaters, they call the supreme God *Mazin Ottuno*, and believe him the creator of the world; they make a feast on the first day they see the new moon, and upon the Emperor's nativity; they honour a virgin they call *Paris* *, and have convents of women. The *Portuguese* alledge, they have converted a number of these people, that above 300 of them were baptized in the year 1560, by *Gonsalvez Sylveira* a Jesuit; but the inconstant Emperor being persuaded by the *Turks*, that *Sylveira* was a magician †, he caused him to be beheaded; but repenting soon of this fact, he censured the *Turks* with the same punishment for their calumnies.

The empire of *Monemugi* is on the south of *Abyssinia*, and on the north of *Monomotapa*; it contains part of the mountains of the *Moon*; the inhabitants are of great stature, they clothe themselves with silk and cotton, which they buy of foreign merchants; the majority of them are heathen idolaters.

In the coasts of *Zanguebar*, the inhabitants are *Heathens* or *Mahometans*, following the doctrine of *Zayd* the nephew of *Haly*. Some Christians have settled themselves in the forts built near the sea by the *Portuguese*. The coasts of *Ajan* and *Abex* are *Mahometans*.

As

* Thefaurus Geographicus, pag. 467.

† Great Hist. Dictionary on the Word *Monomotapa*.

As to the islands of *Africa*, *Zocotara* lies near the straits of *Babelmandel*, at the entry to the *Red-Sea*; the natives were for most part idolaters, worshipping the moon, which they believed to be queen of all things *, but now their Religion is *Mahometan*, and they suffer no other †; they are under a king, who is tributary to the *Cherif* of *Mecca*.

The isle of *Madagascar* is one of the biggest in the world; the *French* call it *Dauphiné*, the *Portuguese* *St. Lawrence*, because discovered by them on a day dedicated to that saint. It is situated between *Zanguebar* and *Casrerie*, it extends from 11 degrees 50 minutes, to 23 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, and is from south-west to north-east 300 leagues, but not above 50 leagues in breadth. The natives are heathens, they believe in one God the creator of heaven and earth, who rewards the good, and punishes the bad; they own there are good and evil Angels, and are mightily afraid of the devil, pouring out the first of their meat and drink on the ground as a sacrifice to appease him; their priests are usually magicians, who teach them spells and charms to prevent mischief from the devil ‖. They live in hoards like the *Tartars*, under one chief, whom they call *Tschich*, which authority is oftentimes usurped by him who is most powerful. The provinces are governed by petty princes or grandees, and the people are divided into several ranks. Their language and writings resembles the *Arabick*; their paper is yellow and very smooth, made of the inner rind of a tree; their ink is a sort of gum, and their pens made of cane. *Francis Gauche* of *Rouen*, who staid in that island several years, says ‡, *He could not discover any Religion these people had, there being no temple among them, and he never saw them pray, or call on any God, or worship any statue;*
yet

* Thesaurus Geographicus, pag. 470.

† Geographical Dictionary, Edition 1694, on *Zocotara*.

‖ Ibid. on *Madagascar*.

‡ Voyage to *Madagascar*, by *Francis Gauche*, pag. 51. in a Collection of Voyages in 4to. printed 1711.

yet when he asked them, they said, they knew there was a devil, by them called Tayrraddey, who causes diseases and barrenness, and a God that killed them; so that the latter was more to be feared than the former. That all men went indifferently to heaven after death. He apprehends *Mabometanism* is creeping in among them, and discourses at large of their rites, divorces, burials, and sacrifices.

As to the other isles of *Africa*, as the isles of *Cape Verd*, the *Canaries* or *Fortunate Islands*, and the *Maderas*, these are all inhabited by *Roman Catholics*; and 'tis not my province now to discourse of their rites. The most remarkable *African* island in the *Mediterranean* sea is *Malta*, the habitation of the *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, all *Papists*; and therefore I pass them, and go to the other side of the world.

Before I enter upon the state of *Paganism* in *America*, there are some things concerning this hemisphere of the terraqueous globe, which deserve our enquiry and observation.

This new world then was first discovered to us in *Europe*, in the year of our Lord 1492, by *Christopher Columbus* a *Genoese*, and in 1497 by *Americus Vesputius* a *Florentine*. The story of these great navigators is so well known, that I need not insist upon it.

The question, How this vast country came to be first inhabited? is of greater moment. Those who desire to see large treatises upon this subject, may consult the authors named at the foot of the page *. It is enough to our purpose to take notice, that in this vast tract of land, when discovered by *Europeans*, there was a multitude of inhabitants, whose ancestors came thither by sea, or by land, of design, or by chance: it is not needful peremptorily to determine from what part of the world they came; there are many mysteries, both in the works of nature and providence, that we

* Joannis de Laet Antuerpiani Notas ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum. Hornius de Origine Gentium Americanarum. *Acosta's History of the Indies*, Book 1.

we cannot distinctly unfold. 'Tis sufficient for us to assert, that it is probable they might come thither either from *China*, *Japan*, or some part of *Tartary*.

It is certain, that the *Chinese* had the knowledge of the arts of *Navigation*, of *Printing*, and of *Guns*, tho' we won't affirm soon after the *Babylonish* confusion of languages, yet long before us in *Europe*. 'Tis no way then incredible, that such a numerous knowing people should send out colonies, who might gradually replenish another part of the world. Mr. *Harris*, in his introduction to his *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, or, complete Collection of Travels, has a learned dissertation concerning the peopling of *America* *, where he seems to make it pretty probable, that the more polite people of *America* in *Mexico* and *Peru*, came from *China* and *Japan* in ships. Thus he observes †, *That the City of Zintzonta in Mexico is a Chinese word; that at the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Yncas of Peru did not boast of an original above 400 years; before this, they say, they were barbarous, lived wild in the woods, eat men's flesh, &c. 'till one Manco came to them from their father the sun, and taught them a better and a more civilized way of life. Now, 'tis probable, he came from China, because the architecture of the Yncas in Peru, and all their mighty buildings and towers are after the Chinese manner, and their cities are vastly great like those in China. The account of the Mexicans reaches not above 300 years backwards. Now, since we learn from P. Venetus, and with a little variation of time from the annals of Gonfalo Mendoza, that about the year of Christ 1268, the Chinese being driven out of their country by the invasion of the Tartars, fled into certain remote islands, and there remained; 'tis very likely they went then into America.*

As to *Tartary*, the most industrious navigators have never as yet been able to sail from the *North* round the *Eastern* parts of that country. If any corner of *Tartary* be joined to some part of *America*, or very

* *Harris's* Introduction, in Folio, from pag. 8——18.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 17.

near, it is not yet discovered. If it be not joined, certainly some of the Eastern coasts of *Tartary* are very near *America*; people then might transport themselves, and also some part of their cattle, from the one into the other, which, by a great fruitfulness in these early ages, might overspread and replenish that whole hemisphere of the world. Tho' the history of this event be not on record, yet this is a probable account, which is all we design. Dr. *Heylin* further observes, that the idolatry of the people of *America*, and the particular forms thereof, their incivility, and barbarous qualities, tell us, that they are more like the *Tartars* than any other people*. Those of *Quivira*, which of all the provinces in *America* is the nearest to *Tartary*, are said to follow, in their whole course of life, the seasons and best pasturing of their cattle, just like the *Scythian Nomades*, or *Tartarian* hoards; which is one argument of their original descent.

Some authors contend, that *America* was not altogether unknown to the ancients; that the *Phenicians* or *Carthaginians* had some knowledge of it; but the small skill they had in navigation, made them entertain no commerce therewith. Some conceive, that *Seneca* the tragedian speaks of it in his *Medea*†, and *Plato* in his *Timæus*, when he brings in the *Egyptian* priests, telling *Solon*, that there was heretofore beyond *Hercules's Pillars*, an island called *Atlantis*, larger than all *Asia* and *Africa*, which was overflowed by a terrible earthquake. But these authorities do not convince me that the ancients had any knowledge of *America*, otherwise they had spoken of it in plainer terms. Neither *Greeks* nor *Romans*, nor we in *Europe* seem to have had any knowledge of it, before the discovery made thereof by the navigators, in the end of the fifteenth Century.

The

* *Heylin's Cosmography*, in Folio, Book IV. page 100.

† *Senecæ Medea*, Lin. 375, & seq.—

Venient annis sæcula feris,
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, & ingens pateat Tellus,

Tiphyſque novos detegat Orbes,
Nec ſit Terris ultima Thule.—

The learned *Witsius* has two discourses * on this subject, If the Gospel was preached by the Apostles, or by their immediate successors, to *America*? In the first of these; he uses all the arguments can be advanced for the affirmative; in the second, he answers these, and demonstrates, that none of the Apostles, or their immediate successors, set their foot in *America*. In my humble opinion, there is no evidence that the Gospel was ever preached in *America*, before the colonies from *Europe* went thither in the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth Century, and more especially by some colonies from *England* long after that time.

Since it has pleased a sovereign and just God, that these vast countries have remained for so many ages under heathenish darkness, 'tis my present business to set in a plain light their sad condition, that *Christians* may be excited to labour more diligently for their conversion. When the *Spaniards* first discovered this new world, the natives were all heathens, yet meek, peaceable, and capable of instruction. But the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, related by *Bartholomew de las Casas*, bishop of *Chiapa*, which we shall touch in the last chapter of this history, gave them such bad impressions of *Christianity*, as did very much hinder their conversion.

A short account of the heathenish superstitions of the natives in *America*, may suffice at present, being sensible this essay has swelled under my hand; far beyond my first design. To begin with the North; *Canada*, called also *New France*, where the famous *Mississippi* colony is situate; extends from South to North about four hundred and forty leagues, from the 30th degree to the 54th of North Latitude, and from the East to the West it runs six hundred and eighty leagues. The natives, who have any kind of religion, believe the immortality of the soul, and that there is a place of pleasure in the other world, where the dead live with their friends; they

* *Hermanni Witsii Exercitationum Academicarum duodecas, Utrechtæ, 1694. à pag. 1. ad pag. 119.*

they are very revengeful, and exercise extraordinary cruelty upon their enemies; they are also treacherous, so as there is no trusting their promises, most of them living without law or religion. They have many magicians and witches, whom they call *Pillotoas* *, who they pretend speak familiarly with the devil, and receive from him knowledge of things to come. They use to sing the devil's praises, dance about fires, and leap over them to his honour. They bemoan the dead a great while, and bring presents to their graves.

Father *Lewis Hennepin*, a *Franciscan* from *France*, with *Monfieur de Laval*, afterward bishop of *Quebeck*, the capital city of *Canada*, did go to the *French* plantations in *America*, in the year 1678; *Monfieur Hennepin* has wrote an account of things remarkable in their travels, which I have seen printed in a book by itself, under this title, *A new Discovery of a large Country in Northern America, extending above four thousand miles, &c.* It is also printed in *Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, now before me †: he describes the *Iroquoise* as a very wicked and cruel people, who torment and murder the prisoners they take, yea, feast upon their bodies; but if they smoak with you in the *Calumet* of peace, then you are in no danger. This *Calumet* is a large tobacco-pipe, of a red, black, or white marble, the head finely polished, the quill commonly two foot and a half long, made of a strong reed or cane, adorned with feathers of all colours, interlaced with locks of women's hair. I shall afterward observe what this author advances concerning the propagation of Christianity in *Canada*. Mean time I leave that country, and go to

New England, which is adjacent to *Canada*, and is situate betwixt the 41st and 44th degree of North Latitude, in the *Temperate Zone*. I shall have occasion in the following chapter, to give account of the idolatrous customs and rites of the *Indians*, when I explain the successful endeavours of the *English* colony in that country,

* Great Historical Dictionary on the Word *Canada*.

† *Harris's complete Collection of Travels*, Vol. II. pag. 906, &c.

try, for the conversion of these natives, and therefore shall now leave them, and pass to,

Virginia, which is so called, in honour of Queen *Elizabeth*; it was first discovered by *John Verudzzan*, and afterward more fully by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the year 1584, by whose direction the Queen sent a colony thither. In Mr. *Harris's* complete Collection of Travels, we have several particular narratives of the first *English* planters in *Virginia**, with the several difficulties they had to debate with; but my subject restrains me to the state of the heathens in these places. The native *Indians* in *Virginia* then, are idolaters, believing there are several Gods of different orders, subject to one eternal Being; they hold the sun, moon, and stars are demigods, calling their temples *Machicomuck*, their priests *Viroances*, the chief of their Gods *Keuras*, and the inferior *Keurasavoch*: But they have a particular veneration for a certain God called *Okee*, who, as they say, often appears to them, and discovers his will, answering questions put to him, about hunting, journeying, and the like. They offer to him the first fruits of all things every year, maintaining they cannot expect good luck, but by so doing. They account the God of the *English* better than theirs, because he often beats them; their priests are generally thought conjurers, for in a time of drought, they pretend by their *Powawing* to bring abundance of rain†. Some authors tell us, that much of their devotion consists in howling and dancing about fires, with rattles, or gourd, or pompion rinds in their hands, beating the ground with stones, and offering tobacco, deers grease, and blood on their stone altars. They undertake no matter of consequence, without advice of their priests, the chief whereof is adorned with feathers and weasel tails, and his face painted ugly as devils. Instead of saying grace at meat, they fling the first bit into the fire; when they would appease a storm, they cast tobacco into the water; sometimes they sacrifice children to the devil.

* *Harris's* Collection, Vol. I. pag. 815, to 848.

† Hackluit, Purchas, *Refs's* Pansebeia, pag. 104.

Florida is adjacent to *Virginia* and *Carolina*; *Sebastian Cabot* discovered it in the year 1496, upon the account of *Henry VII.* king of *England*, but he only took a slight view of the country. *Frances Ribault*, in the name of *Charles IX.* king of *France*, made a league with the inhabitants in the year 1562, and built *Charles-Fort*. But the *Spaniards*, in the night-time, surprized the *French*, and murdered most of their soldiers. The natives are heathens; they have a great veneration for the sun and moon, and pay great respect to their priests, who are also their physicians*; but instead of letting blood, as we do, suck the blood out of their patients. They are magicians, and inchant the people by their witchcraft. *Charles V.* sent several monks and friars to try whether they could tame those savages, but the infidels cut their throats†. The natives have a kind of friendship for the *English*, and are ready upon all occasions to serve them; they worship one God, as Creator of all things, whom they call *Okee*: their high priests offer sacrifice to him, but they believe he minds not human affairs himself, but commits the government of them to lesser deities; they believe the transmigration of souls, and happiness after death. The *English* among them enjoy a liberty of conscience, by the constitution of their government.

New Mexico is a large country, lying to the West of *Florida*; it is not yet fully discovered, tho' some parts thereof have been possessed by the *Spaniards*, since the year 1583‡. There are some of the natives, who worship the sun and moon, and carry meat to their idols to eat, which they have set in little chapels; others of them have scarce any religion§.

California lies to the West of *New Mexico*, it extends near seven hundred leagues from North to South, it was commonly believed to be an island, but near the end of the fifth volume of the *Jesuits Letters*, printed at *Paris*,

I

* *Thef. Geog.* pag. 482.

† *Historical Dictionary*, on the Word *Florida*.

‡ *Historical Dictionary*, on *New Mexico*.

§ *Thef. Geog.* pag. 483.

I find a memorial * presented to the council of *Guadalaxara* in *Mexico*, on the tenth of *February* 1702, translated from the *Spanish*; and the Jesuit *Gobien*, in his preface to that volume, tells us, *that the missionaries found that great country of California, to be separate only from New Mexico, by the waters of a river.* The inhabitants are heathen idolaters.

Mexico, or *New Spain*, is a rich country, which was anciently governed by elective kings of their own, of whom there is some history on record, for four or five hundred years. They were so powerful, as to be able to send three or four hundred thousand fighting men into the field. The last of these kings was *Montezuma* the Second. *Ferdinand Cortez*, with a small army of *Spaniards*, having got the assistance of a body of the natives, conquered this kingdom in the name of the king of *Spain*, in less than four years, viz. from 1518, to 1521. The noise of his artillery made them believe him to be a God, but the cruelty of the *Spaniards* shewed they were worse than men †: They took, burned, and sack'd the rich city of *Mexico*.

The natives were all idolaters, they worshipped many idols, but three principally; the first of these was called *Vitziliputzli*, placed in an azure-coloured chair, with snakes heads at each corner; on his head were rich plumes of feathers with gold; in his left hand a white target, in his right a staff, at his side four darts. Near to this idol, stood a pillar of less work and beauty, on which was another idol called *Toloc*; perhaps by this they meant the moon, and by the former the sun. They had a third idol of black stone, with four darts in his right hand, looking angry like; this, as the rest, was adorned with gold and jewels. In *Cholula* they worshipped a God of wealth or merchandizing. They had also an idol of paste or dough, consecrated, or made every year, to which, rich presents were brought, and stuck in the paste; sometimes they adored captives, and afterwards sacrificed

* *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, &c.* Recueil 5. pag. 248.

† *Hist. Dict. on Mexico, or New Spain.*

them *. They had a chief priest, whose habit was a crown of rich feathers, on his head pendants of gold, with green stones at his ears, and under his lips an azure stone; his office was to receive the body of the dead king at the temple door, with a mournful song, to open the breast of the sacrificed man, to pull out his heart, to offer it to the sun, and then cast it to the idol, to which the man was sacrificed, the inferior priests holding the legs, arms, and head of the sacrificed wretch, while the heart was taking out; the priest's office was also to burn incense before their idols. The revenues of the priests were great, and their temples, in state, wealth and magnificence, did even exceed the popish churches in *Europe*.

Cholula, before the arrival of the *Spaniards*, had twenty thousand inhabitants, and three hundred and sixty-five temples, in which they sacrificed every year five or six thousand children to their idols †. How dreadful is that inhumanity and barbarity that the enemy of mankind did drive the blinded heathens to! In *Mexico* were above two thousand false deities or idols, every one of them having a particular way of adoration, and a distinct order of priests ‡. Each twentieth day, being the last of their month, was holy, and then men were sacrificed. At the first appearance of green corn, children were offered up, when the corn was a foot above the ground, and again when it was two foot high, holy days were kept, and more children butchered. In a festival which the *Mexicans* observed in their canoes upon the lake, a boy and a girl were drowned, to keep company with the Gods of the lake. But I am weary of rehearsing these heathenish abominations; what an invaluable mercy is it, that we, by divine revelation, are delivered from them, and directed to serve the Lord our God? who is of infinite mercy, goodness and compassion to his people, who doth not require the fruit of our body for the sin of
our

* *Acosta's History of the Indies*, lib. 5. chap. 9.

† *Ibidem*, lib. 5. c. 20, 21.

‡ *History of America*, printed at London 1705, pag. 535.—

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our soul ; but that we should do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God, who is reconciled to us, thro' his own son, our blessed Redeemer.

Having taken a view of the idolatrous rites of the natives, in most parts of the continent of *North America*, I might also enquire into the superstition of the islands, as *Jamaica*, *St. Christopher's*, *Nevis* or *Mevis*, *Bermudas*, *Cuba*, *Tabago*, *Hispaniola*, *Newfoundland*, *St. Vincent's*, &c. To insist on the civil or natural history and rarities of these places, is not my business ; this is done by many writers of Geography and Travels. In many of these isles, the natives are either destroyed or fled, and the inhabitants now, are for the most part Christians, of several denominations, from *Europe*, and Negroes bought with money from *Afric*. As to the remaining natives, most of their superstitious rites agree with those we have already discoursed of in *Virginia*, *Florida*, *Canada*, &c.

Monf. l'Abbe Bellegarde says *, *That in Hispaniola, the Indians adore the sun and moon, and mingle a great many heathenish ceremonies with their worship ; they hold a first, eternal and omnipotent Principle, to whom they give two names, Mamona and Guamono-coa ; they say their God has a mother, who has five names, viz. Atta-beira, Mamona, Guacavirita, Siella and Guinazona. This God, they also hold, has many messengers, called Cemís, and every Cacique has one of these assigned him by a special privilege. They believe he appears only in the night, and reveals to the Cacique a thousand secrets ; that he is of the colour of cotton dyed black, and throws out fire at his mouth, and his feet, say they, are like those of black serpents. When the Indians go abroad to fight their enemies, they always have one of these little figures fastned to their foreheads, believing, that, by their assistance, they shall surely gain the victory. They demand rain of them, and fair weather, as occasions require. When the Cemís appears by chance in the woods, or elsewhere, the Indians have always a particular veneration for the places where they saw them. When they have a mind to be informed of*

the success of any particular and important affair, the chief of their Caciques enters a sort of temple dedicated to these Cemís, where a certain drink is presented to him, made of an herb which the Indians call Chohobba; this drink he snuffs up at his nose, which he has no sooner done, than he becomes mad for a time, the house seems to turn round with him, and the people to walk on their heads; in a word, he knows not what he does or says. As soon as these fumes begin a little to abate, he sets himself down on the ground, with his hands and head upon his knees, and after continuing a while thus, as if awakened from his sleep, lifts up his eyes to heaven, muttering some words, which no body understands. The principal people of the country standing round the Cacique, while this ceremony is performed, give thanks to the Cemís, for restoring him to his senses. When they begin to enquire what he has seen, he answers gravely, the Cemi has spoke and promised him victory, if the question be about fighting; or has promised him success and direction, according to the matter proposed. The Indians believe these Cemís have converse with their wives. Since the Christians have been in possession of Hispaniola, these Cemís have disappeared, and their delusion ceased. The Indians conclude thence, that their country shall devolve to another dominion, and their Caciques be subject to a more powerful lord.

The same author relates many odd opinions of these pagan Indians, how the earth came to be peopled, of the origin of the sea, of the dead, and others of that kind, which I pass. In the same book he says, there are to this day in the Indies, men-eaters, who feed upon human flesh; who sacrifice men, as formerly the people of Thrace offered their strangers to their false Deities. The savages inhabiting the continent of the Indies, called *Goorotegas* or *Caribes*, wage war with their neighbours, chiefly for the benefit of taking prisoners, whom they devour. They are a generation without the least sense of humanity, much less of pity, who differ from wild beasts only in outward shape. They shew not the least symptoms of any good inclinations, even such of them as have been taken in their infancy, and edu-
cated

cated among the Christians, return in time to their vicious disposition. They are so much addicted to cruelty and venery, that 'tis next to impossible to make them desist or leave it off. I know *Dampier* and some other travellers say, they never met with *Anthropophagi*, *Cannibals* or *Man-eaters*, so far as they went; but this does not make the relations of others altogether false.

I now proceed to *South America*, where in the first place we meet with *Peru*, a vast continent, running along the *Pacific* sea, and giving the name of *Peruvian* to the whole of *South America*. It lies almost all between the Equator and Tropic of *Capricorn*. *Francis Pizzaro* a *Spaniard*, made a discovery thereof in the year 1525, and subdued it. *Gemelli Careri*, a late ingenious traveller, who viewed many parts of the world *, says †, *Pizzaro* did not find so great difficulty in *Peru*, as *Cortez* did in *Mexico*. Having mentioned the name of this traveller, I shall observe, that in his sixth tome, he has several things that are curious, concerning *Mexico*, which lie not in my road, only he insists long upon their horrible human sacrifices, and says ‡, *That their King Ahuitzol, when he consecrated the temple of Huitzilopochtli, in the year 1486, during the space of four days, caused to be sacrificed 64080 men.* And tho', since the conquest of the *Spaniards*, this abominable cruelty be banished out of their cities, *Yet § to this day, 'tis practised by some of the Indians in the mountains.*

To return to *Pizzaro*, he caused the King *Atabalipa* to be strangled, contrary to the promise had been given him. The unsatiable desire of Gold, moved the *Spaniards* to murder the *Indians* in a most barbarous manner. They have now that rich country in possession ;

* His Travels are translated from *Italian* into *French*, and printed at *Paris*, in the year 1719, under this Title, *Voyage du Tour du Monde.*

† Tome Sixieme, pag. 285.

‡ Ibidem, pag. 51, 52.

§ Ibidem, pag. 80.

sion ; a viceroy, and several episcopal cities erected in it. The *Peruvians* are more civilized than most of the other *Indians* in *America* ; they adore the sun, but believe there is another God above him, whom they call *Pachacamac* ; their country is very fruitful in gold mines, so as it was observed, at the arrival of *Pizzaro*, their very kitchen-pots and utensils were made of gold, and their houses covered with the same metal ; which may be easily believed, if we consider the single mines of *Potosi*, whence the Kings of *Spain*, in less than fifty years, for their fifth part, got above 111 millions weight, each weight consisting of thirteen *Reals* and a quarter.

Garcilasso de la Vega, has writ his *Royal Commentaries of Peru*, containing the history of the *Yncas* and many other curiosities, in *Folio* ; the book is extant in *Latin*, and also translated into *English*, by Sir *Paul Rycaut*. According to that author, the *Yncas* reigned about 400 years, before the *Spaniards* made themselves masters of the country, viz. from 1125, to 1525, but 'tis not my province to give a deduction of their history. The royal edifices which the *Yncas* built, were very sumptuous structures. The chief temple of the sun, and the palace of the *Yncas* at *Cusco*, were most magnificent, the walls of the palace being overlaid with plates of gold, embellished with divers figures of men, and other animals. The royal throne, which they called *Tyana*, was all of massy gold, upon an estrade of gold ; all the vessels of the palace were of gold or silver ; of these metals did the Kings cause several sorts of animals, plants, and trees, with their branches, flowers and fruits, to be made. 'Tis affirmed, these treasures, or the greatest part of them, were hid by the *Indians*, after their King *Atabalipa* was taken by *Pizzaro*, and could never be found by the *Spaniards*. The walls of the temple of the sun at *Cusco*, were overlaid with plates of gold, from top to bottom, and the picture of the sun, with his beams, was all of gold ; 'tis said, a *Spaniard* having found it, lost it at dice in one night. Indeed the first conquerors of *Peru*, by their

luxury, discords and civil wars among themselves, enjoyed but for a very little time the fruits of their purchase; yea, many of them came to wretched ends*. The remainders of the temple of the sun stand to this day, and is a part of the monastery of St. *Dominic* †. Near this principal temple were four others; the first whereof was dedicated to the moon, as sister and wife of the sun, called by them *Quilla*, the walls and doors thereof were covered with silver; the second was consecrated to the planet *Venus*, called *Chasca*, its walls were also overlaid with silver; the third was dedicated to thunder and lightning, which they called by a common name *Yllapa*. The fourth temple was in honour of *Iris*, the rainbow, named by them *Cugchu*, having all the inside enriched with gold. Near these temples, was the house of the priests, who were all to be of the royal family. There were in divers provinces, several other temples, built almost in the same manner, and dedicated to the sun, but not so magnificent as that at *Cusco*, except one in an isle of the lake *Tituaca*, where the *Yncas* had immense treasures; this was the ancientest in *Peru*, for which the *Indians* had a particular esteem.

As to the Religion of the *Peruvians*, they adored nothing but the sun as God; the other divinities, to whom they erected temples, were inferior to him. They sacrificed to him all sorts of animals, and especially sheep; as also, all manner of grain and liquors. They consecrated virgins to the sun at eight years of age, whom they shut up in places appointed for their abode, from whence they did not go abroad, no not so much as to the temple; they preserved a perpetual virginity, employing themselves in their retirement, to make stuffs for the King and Queen's clothes, and to prepare bread and drink for their solemn sacrifices; they were almost all of the blood royal. There were other monasteries in other cities of the kingdom, for maidens, who usually served for the King's concubines; the

* Careri du Tour du Monde, Tom. 6. pag. 289—293.

† Great Hist. Dictionary on the Word *Peru*.—

the fairest daughters of the *Curacas* or great lords were there kept; if any of them appointed for the king, suffered her self to be corrupted, the law commanded her to be buried alive, and him who had debauched her, to be strangled. They had a solemn feast for the fun.

Before the *Spaniards* subdued this kingdom, it had been civilized by the *Yncas*, who had brought them from their barbarous rites and ceremonies, to a more regular form of government; they had not so many human sacrifices as the *Mexicans*. Yet *Joseph Acosta* says *, *That for the Yncas's health when sick, and for his victory when he went to the wars, they sacrificed 200 children, from four to ten years of age.* But they detested the custom of eating man's flesh; they were all clothed with garments made of cotton or hair, and had the art of spinning and weaving, managed for most part by men within doors, while their women took care of their agriculture, and other affairs abroad. They had some imperfect notice of the immortality of the soul, and of the rewards and punishments of another life. One argument of the greatness of the *Yncas*, was his common roads or *cawleys*; they had caused one to be made thro' the plains, another thro' the mountains, each 500 leagues in length, and placed houses at convenient distances on them, to lodge and supply strangers, that they might travel quite thro' them, without charge.

There is a barbarous sort of people inhabiting the mountains of *Peru*, called *Moxos*: Father *Cyprian Baraza* a Jesuit resided some years as a missionary among them, and essayed several ways to engage them to Christianity, but was at last murdered by them, September 16th, 1702 †.

The kingdom of *Chili* lies to the southward of *Peru*, along the coast of the *Pacific* sea; it was discovered by *Diego Almagro*, who took possession of it for *Charles V.* then King of *Spain*, in the year 1534, and was made governour

* History of the *Indies*, Book 5. Chap. 19. pag. 380.—

† Jesuits Travels, printed 1714. pag. 230. & seq.—

governour thereof. The natives for the greatest part, are idolaters, and worship the devil, whom they call *Epanomam*, that is, *Strong and Powerful*; some of them, who are subject to the *Spaniards*, have been baptized.

Magellanica is the utmost part of the continent of *America*, to the south, lying between the 38th and 52d degree of south latitude; it was first discovered by *Ferdinand Magellan*, in the year 1519, and takes its name from him. There is scarce any colony of *Europeans* in that country, those the *Spaniards* had, being dispersed, or perished with hunger. The natives are heathen idolaters, and fear the devil, whom they call *Setebos*; they clothe themselves with beasts skins, and for most part live in caves, they are called *Patagons*. The *Spaniards* represented them as giants, but the latter relations of *Englishmen*, who have near surrounded the globe, say the contrary.

Rio de la Plata, is so called from a great river of that name, which runs about 300 leagues up the country, which is also called *Paraguay*. *Alvarez Nunez* discovered that river, and settled several *Spanish* colonies near it in the year 1540. The natives, for the most part, are heathens; they fear the devil, and paint him with great horns *. The colonies of the *Spaniards* are papists.

Brasil is a great country in *South America*, lying on the sea, from the river of the *Amazons* to the province of *Paraguay*. Its coast is in the form of a great half circle of near 1200 leagues, and the sea waters it on three sides †. It is the most easterly part of all *America*, between the 1st and 24th degree of south latitude. *Alvarez Cabrail* discovered it in the year 1501, in the name of the King of *Portugal*. The natives go naked, they neither sow nor reap, but live by hunting, and of the fruits which the earth produceth of its own accord. They eat their enemies whom they take, rather to satisfy their revenge, than their taste. They

* *Thef. Geograph.* pag. 494.

† *Great Historical Dictionary on the Word Brasil.*

have no prince, no laws, and little religion. Those in the heart of the country are still unknown, and have mutual wars. The greatest part of them are counted forcerers; those who dwell on the coast are more civilized, by reason of their commerce with the *Europeans*. They follow the *Romish* Religion in places subject to the *Portuguese*, who pretend to have made many converts among the natives; but elsewhere they have no temples, and little form of any Religion, save, that they believe there is a God, and evil spirits who come to torment them. *Alexander Ross* says *, the people of *Brazil* acknowledg'd the immortality of the soul, and that there are rewards and punishments after this life; for they hope, if they kill and sacrifice many of their enemies, they shall be carried beyond the mountains into pleasant gardens, there to dance and rejoice with their forefathers. They stand in awe of the devil, who is still vexing them, and therefore they worship him, and when they go abroad they commonly carry fire with them, as their defence against the devil, who they think is afraid of it. They have their solemn festivals, which they celebrate with dancing, howling and tattling.

The country of the *Amazons* is so called, because it lies along the river of the *Amazons*, which rises in the mountains near *Quito*, and runs from west to east 1800 leagues †; it exceeds all the rivers in the world in length and breadth ‡. The vast country called *Guiana* is not yet thoroughly known, no more than a great part of *America*; but there are some provinces along this river so well inhabited, and villages there so frequent, that the sound of those who work in one is heard in another. The natives for most part go naked, but some of them have garments of cotton; they are idolaters, and make images of wood, which they set up in the corners of their houses, having no temples. They know not the use of iron or steel, but cut out their
images

* Pansebeia, pag. 113.

† Historical Dictionary.

‡ Thesaurus Geographicus, pag. 496.

images with hatchets of stone or very hard wood. Their priests make them believe, these deities come down from heaven to dwell among them. There is an excellent description of this river composed by *Peter Texeira a Portuguese*, who surveyed it all over in 10 months.

Terra Firma is a large country within the *Torrid Zone*, possessed by the *Spaniards*; it comprehends the isthmus of north and south *America*, *Terra Firma* properly so called, the *Golden Castile*, the governments of *Carthagena*, *Sancta Martha*, *New Cordoua*, *Panama*, *Popajan*, *Porto Bello*, *Venezuela*, *Nova Granada*, *Andalusia*, *Paria*, &c. *Du Perrier*, in his *Collection of Voyages*, says, “ The natives in these parts * have
“ among them certain religious people, whom they
“ call *Tequinas*, to whom they pay the greatest respect;
“ these consult the devil about all affairs, as, whether
“ they shall go to war or not? and at what time?
“ To which the devil being an astrologer, often gives
“ such answers as prove proper, which the *Tequinas*
“ immediately make a report of to the people. The
“ *Indians* deceived by these predictions, see the effect of
“ what has been foretold a long while before it hap-
“ pens, which inclines them easily to believe the rest.”
There are certain provinces where human flesh is offered to these *Demons*, in others they content themselves to burn incense and sweet odours to them. If it happens the success does not answer the prediction of the *Tequinas*, he immediately tells the people, *Their Deity has changed his mind*, and thus imposes upon the poor wretches. “ They pay their principal devotion to the
“ sun and moon, and likewise look on their *Caciques*
“ as visible Gods; they pay them all respect, and do
“ them all the service in their power. When a *Ca-*
“ *cique* comes to die, his chief servants, men and wo-
“ men, kill themselves, to accompany and serve him
“ in the other world. It is a common error with them,
“ that those who cut off themselves for the sake of
“ their *Cacique*, go with him directly to the other world,

“ to

* *Du Perrier*, pag. 194.

“ to do him the same services as here upon earth ;
 “ but those who have not the courage to kill them-
 “ selves, die with their bodies, like those of other *In-*
 “ *dians*, who have not the honour to belong to the
 “ *Cacique* or Prince. Before they make away with
 “ themselves, they have the precaution to bury in the
 “ ground *Maiz*, and other provisions, to subsist them
 “ in the other world.”

Beside all these territories I have discoursed of, in *New Holland*, *New Guinea*, *New Zealand*, *Statekland*, and other countries discovered lately by the *Dutch*, the natives are heathens, and have oratories in which they worship their idols. In many isles of *South America*, which I shall not trouble my reader with, and also in some parts of the north *Frigid Zone* near the *Pole*, the natives labour under black heathenish ignorance and infidelity.

The account we have given of the state of *Paganism* over the world, as has been formerly remarked *, does discover the insufficiency of nature's light to conduct men to happiness, and the necessity of divine revelation ; since these religions invented by men, and propagated by the enemy of mankind are so absurd, and destructive to immortal souls. And we have also here a plain view, how vast a work it is to propagate the *Christian Religion* over so great a part of the world. *The harvest truly is great, and the labourers few ; pray ye therefore the lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest* †.

Before I conclude this chapter, allow me to observe, that the learned *Gotofredus* has several remarks, which deserve our attention. After he has, in his *Geography*, given an account of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*, he says ‡, *The Spanish America has four Archbishops, one at St. Domingo, another at Mexico, a third at Lima, and a fourth at St. Foy.. The first has three suffragans, the second ten, the third nine, and the fourth three.*

* *Supra*, Vol. 1.

† *Luke* 10. 2.

‡ *Archontologia Cosmica*, pag. 330. & seq.

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three. All of them have great yearly revenues; beside a great number of monks of several orders, as Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustines, Jesuits, and Mendicant Friars; in all he reckons of this kind of religious persons 5000 in the Spanish conquests, besides secular priests. I nothing doubt but that number of ecclesiastics may be increased since *Gotofredus's* time, his book which I cite being printed in the year 1628. And *Gemelli Careri*, a late popish traveller, whose voyages I see printed in 1719, tells us of so great a number of ecclesiasticks in the metropolitan church of *Mexico*, by it self alone, as do enjoy a yearly revenue of 300,000 pieces of Eight *. So great a number of churchmen, so well supported by a powerful government, might have done a great deal for propagating *Christianity* among infidels; but alas! they have done little or nothing. The barbarous massacres committed by the *Spanish* soldiers on the poor *Indians* at their first entry, gave them such impressions of their new masters, as they could not be reconciled to their way; whereas a rational gaining method, with humble dependance on the grace and spirit of God for his assistance and influence, is the best means to persuade people to receive the Gospel. The idleness, laziness, luxury, and debauchery of the popish clergy, makes them to this day unmindful and unfit for that affair, and their pride and idolatry renders them unsuccessful. Heathen idols are not to be plucked up, and Christian idols planted in the room of them; but idolatry must be pulled out root and branch.

Beside, as the same *Gotofredus* observes †, The *Spanish* priests were at no pains to learn the language of the *Indians*, in order to catechize or instruct them, but only gave them a name at baptism, driving in hundreds and thousands to be baptized, who knew nothing of the *Christian Religion*, in so far as they knew not whether they were baptized or not; and those who understood they had received it, never did abandon their polygamy and idolatry.

* *Careri Tour du Monde*, Tom. 6. pag. 33.

† *Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica*, pag. 347.

idolatry. In this method real success can never be expected; but if good men did seriously apply themselves to the conversion of these people, there is no such difficulty in their language, but that it might be soon attained. For, as *Gotofredus* a papist also observes *, *The language of Mexico extends over a vast country 1000 leagues in length, the native Idiom of Peru or Cusco as far.* By the help of one of these, a zealous good man might have done great service; the people being under some rules of government, fixed to work, and to improve their lands in their fixed habitations, it might be more easy to instruct them, than the *Indians* in other places, who have no fixed residence, but wander hither and thither. They might soon be made sensible of the liberty which the Christian Religion admits them to, delivering them from the servitude of *satan*, and those barbarous human sacrifices they were in the time of their ignorance used to perform; and since they have some notion of the immortality of the soul, this might be improved, in order to direct them in the right method to obtain everlasting happiness, and shun eternal misery. If once these blessed times were come, *when the church shall come out of Babylon, when the Lord the Messiah shall be King over all the earth, one Lord, and his name One, when the Spirit shall be poured out upon all flesh; then the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.*

* *Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica*, pag. 336. See also *John Acofta's History of the Indies*, Book VII. Chap. XXVIII. page mihi 585.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Propagation of the Christian Religion, and Overthrow of Paganism, since the reviving of Arts and Sciences, Knowledge and Learning in the fifteenth Century, and downward to the present Time.

WE have observed in the third, fourth, and sixth chapters of this history, what glorious advances the Christian Religion has made over the world, to the overthrow of heathenish idolatry, in the former ages of the Christian Church; what glorious trophies our Redeemer's kingdom has erected, by subduing many nations of the earth, in accomplishment of the ancient promise, *All nations shall serve him.* And in this chapter, we may discover from the fifteenth century, and to the present time, what further progress *Christianity* has made, even among the heathens, the habitations of horrid cruelty, whose state has been already described. Tho' very much remains still to be done, yet infidelity and heathenish idolatry has been in some measure crushed, Satan's kingdom has fallen like lightning, the Gospel of Christ has had a free course, and been glorified in some parts, where heathenism formerly prevailed, and a way, I hope, opened for the more successful endeavours of after-ages. Divine Providence has ordered, that the reviving of arts and sciences, knowledge and learning, have contributed to this good work; and therefore, I shall in a few words take notice of these great improvements.

The art of *Printing* was found out at *Mentz*, by *John Faustus*, in the year 1440*; this made books and learning have a more easy passage over the world.

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* Guido Pancirollus nuper inventarum Rerum memorabilium. pag. mihi 311. Edit. Francofurti, in 4to.

It is much cheaper and easier to buy a printed book, than to transcribe a manuscript out of a library. The useful invention of the mariners needle or compass, was discovered at *Terra di Lavoro*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, about the year 1330 *. The ancients, for want of this, knew little of *Navigation*, but only coasting; whereas in our days, bold pilots adventure thro' the ocean, pass the Equator and Tropics, yea, surround the world. The inhabitants of the *East Indies*, for many ages had been little disturbed by strangers, till the *Portuguese*, under the conduct of *Vasco di Gama*, about the latter end of the fifteenth century, began to settle there, to the great advantage of their country; but the *Dutch* being more cunning and diligent, wormed them out of a great part of their trade afterward. *America*, in a manner the half of the world, was unknown to *Europe*, till the way was opened thither by *Christopher Columbus* a *Genoese*, in the year 1492: he got but an ordinary reward for so important a discovery. *Americo Vesputio*, a *Florentine*, in the year 1497, made some farther progress, which has been very much improved in latter times.

Knowledge and Learning in *Europe* suffered a great shock, and was in hazard to dwindle into nothing, by the decay of the *Western Empire*, and the inundation of the Northern barbarous nations in the fifth and sixth centuries. *Charlemain* did endeavour to restore it in *France*, and propagate it over his empire; but in the ninth, tenth, and some subsequent centuries, by the idleness and debauchery of the monks, and others of the *Romish* clergy, by their scholastic quibbles, doting upon peripatetic philosophy, and neglecting to improve the *Holy Scriptures*, the *Languages*, the *Mathematics*, or almost any useful part of Learning, it was again like to go to ruin; 'till about the end of the fifteenth century, by the diligence of some great men, Learning began to revive, which was further advanced by our Reformers from *Popery* in the sixteenth century,

and

* Ibid. pag. 233, 236.

and by the careful improvements of some eminent men since that time*.

How far these things did tend to open a door for the propagation of the Christian Religion over the world, we may see in the words of the learned Monsieur *Jurieu*. He says †, “ God has revived the light of knowledge
“ of the Sciences; which was almost quite extinguished
“ under the barbarism of scholastic learning. In the
“ last century, God caused the knowledge of the *Greek*
“ and *Hebrew* tongues to revive; which was of such use
“ for understanding the sacred inspired writings, and
“ the confutation of heresy and idolatry, that the Pa-
“ pists do not scruple to say, *it is what has undone them*.
“ In this century, the Providence of God has carried the
“ acuteness and delicacy of men’s minds to that degree,
“ that it may be truly said, the most enlightned and
“ refined ages, were barbarous in comparison of this.
“ The speculative sciences and true philosophy are
“ brought to that perfection, that all we have had
“ before may be reckoned simplicity and ignorance.
“ This new philosophy does open and enlarge the
“ mind, and the light we receive from it does very
“ much to scatter that thick darkness, which the phi-
“ losophy of the schools had cast upon the doctrine of
“ religion: We shall shortly see of what use this may be,
“ to destroy the monsters of *Transubstantiation* and the
“ *Real Presence*. I look upon the voyages of our *Euro-*
“ *peans*; the discoveries made of new countries in the
“ *East* and *West*; and the improvement of the art of
“ *Navigation*, to be a means which God prepares for
“ the fulfilling of that great promise, that concerns
“ the conversion of the *Gentiles*. Why did God reserve
“ the invention of the sea-compass to these last times?
“ Why was it not known three or four hundred years
“ sooner, what it was to sail upon the ocean at great
“ distance from the shore? Was there less curiosity,
“ covetousness, or industry among men formerly than

Q 3

now?

* The Improvements of Moderns, see in *Wotton’s Reflections on Learning*.

† Preface to the *Accomplishment of Prophecies*.

“ now? For what reason would God, that one half
 “ of the world should live in ignorance of the other for
 “ so long a time?—For my own part, I cannot but
 “ look upon this as a work of a most wise Providence,
 “ discovering to us *unknown people*, whose conversion
 “ he designs to bring about in a short time. I consi-
 “ der the great number of Half-Christians which the
 “ popish missions make in the *Indies*, to be just as *Pro-*
 “ *selytes of the Gate*, which the *Jews* made; they were
 “ properly neither *Jews* nor *Christians*, but were the
 “ seed of Christianity. These Eastern converts made
 “ by Papists are neither Heathens nor Christians, but
 “ they will be the first part of the harvest God intends
 “ to have among this people; and after they are fully
 “ converted, they’ll be very serviceable to promote
 “ the conversion of those who are yet altogether pa-
 “ gans. I admire, *says he*, the depth of Divine Pro-
 “ vidence, that by insensible steps and degrees, dispo-
 “ seth the Mahometan nations for Christianity. For
 “ this we need but consult the second book of the *pre-*
 “ *sent state of the Ottoman Empire*, by Sir Paul Rycaut,
 “ where we meet with a Sect of Mahometans, who be-
 “ lieve the *Messiah* took a natural body, that being
 “ eternal, he became incarnate, as the Christians be-
 “ lieve; wherefore they insert that article into their
 “ confession of faith, *That Christ shall come to judge the*
 “ *world at the last day* *.”

We may also observe with Mr. *Jenkyns* †, that *Chri-*
stianity has been still professed in those parts of the
 world, where there has been most learning and com-
 merce, where they have been most able, and had great-
 est opportunities to instruct other nations. To which
 end, the vast extent, first of the *Greek*, *Latin* and
Syriac, and since of the *Persian*, *Sclavonic* and *Arabic*
 tongues, have been very advantageous; the *Scriptures*
 of the *New Testament* being written in the first, and
 translated into all the rest. And tho’ by the just and
 wise Providence of God, Mahometans and Idolaters
 have

* Rycaut’s present State of the Ottoman Empire, lib. 2. cap. 11, 12.

† Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, Vol. 1. pag. 116, & seq.

have been suffered to possess themselves of those places in *Greece, Asia, and Africa*, where the Christian Religion formerly most flourished, yet there are still remainders of the Christian Religion among them, so as to give them opportunity to be converted, when their sins shall not hinder to restore the Gospel to these countries as before. For, by Mr. *Brerewood's* account *, in the dominions of the *Turks* in *Europe*, the *Christians* make two third parts at least of the inhabitants; and in *Constantinople* itself he reckons above twenty Christian Churches, and above thirty in *Theffalonica*, where the *Mahometans* have, or had but three mosques. *Philadelphia*, now called *Alashakir*, has no fewer than twelve Christian Churches †. The whole island of *Cbio* is governed by *Christians*; there are above thirty *Latin* churches, and above five hundred *Greek*; and in some other islands of the *Archipelago*, there are none but *Christians*. Which, by Sir *Paul Rycaut's* account || of the present state of the *Ottoman* Empire, has not been without very considerable effect; for a Sect among the *Turks*, called *Haietti*, hold, *that Christ is eternal, that he was incarnate, and that he shall come to judge the world at the last day*. The students in the Grand Seignior's court generally maintain, *That Christ is God, and the Redeemer of the world*. This is a common tenet in *Constantinople*, the professors of it are stiled, *Chup Messahi*, or, *the good followers of the Messiah*; and some have suffered martyrdom in maintenance of this doctrine. The *Turkish* soldiers on the confines of *Hungary* and *Bosnia*, read the Gospel in the *Sclavonian* tongue. *Bernier* writes ‡, that in the country of the *Mogul*, tho' the missionaries make some progress among the *Gentiles*, yet they do not, in ten years, make one Christian of a *Mahometan*: but he says, the *Great Mogul*, *Jehan Guire*, grand-father to *Aureng-Zebe*, consented, that two of his nephews should be Christians,

Q 4

and

* *Brerewood's* Enquiry, chap. 10.† *Rycaut's* present State of the *Greek Church*, pag. 74.|| *Lib. 2. cap. 11, 12.*‡ *Memoirs*, Tom. 3.

and declares, that the *Mahometans* have venerable thoughts of our religion; that they never speak of Christ, but with great reverence; that they never pronounce the word *Aysa*, i. e. *Jesus*, without adding that of *Azaret*, which signifies *Majesty*; that they agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a virgin-mother, and that he is the *Kelum-Allah*, and *Roubh-Allah*, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God. All which is no more than the *Alcoran* teaches them, nor than the *Mahometans* of *Persia* and *Morocco* pretend to believe. The *Persian Mahometans* * receive among their sacred books, the *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms*, all the books of the *Prophets*, and the four *Evangelists*; the reading of these, has been the means which God has been pleased to make use of, for the conversion of many persons of great eminency. In the kingdom of *Morocco*, they receive the books of *Moses*, the *Psalms*, and the four *Gospels*, and observe the festival of St. *John*, tho' in the *Gospels* they follow the false glosses of *Sergius* and the *Alcoran* †. Sir *Thomas Roe* observes ‖, that the great *Mogul*, *Erbar Sha*, gave the missionaries all manner of encouragement and assistance, with full liberty to all sorts of his subjects to become Christians, even to his own court and blood, and that neither *Jehan Guire*, to whom he was sent ambassador, nor any of all the sects in his kingdom, uttered any disrespectful words of Christ, as they did not forbear to do of *Mahomet*; which, says he, is a wonderful secret working of God's Truth, and worth observing. It is also observed lately, by a learned author ‡, that the Christians had better terms from *Mahomet* himself, than any of his tributaries; and, that there is no *Mahometan* country, where the Christian Religion is not esteemed the best, next to their own, and the professors thereof accordingly respected by them, before any other sort of men that differ from them.

Peter

* Sanfon Royaume de Perse.

† Relation de l'Empire de Maroc, par Mr. de St. Olon.

‖ Letter, October 30, 1616.

‡ *Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.*

Peter Texeira, in the account of his travels from *India* to *Italy*, by land, says *, *That near Bazora he saw the Mahometans praying to a place which looked like a hermitage, standing on the banks of the river; and asking, what place that was? they answered, it was dedicated to Iza ben Mariam, that is, to Jesus the son of Mary, shewing a considerable quantity of land, and palm-tree groves, whose revenues belonged to that chapel; which I much admired, says he, for tho' I knew the Mahometans honoured him much by the title of Rugalah, which signifies, the Breath of God, yet I never heard they dedicated a church to him.*

My present business is to enquire into the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the world possessed by heathens, where I shall not forget the endeavours either of Papists or Protestants, so far as they have come to my knowledge.

The order of time leads me to begin with the Popish Missions. The *Portugueze* being the first who opened the way by navigation, to the *East Indies*, we may find in the historians of that nation, the first account of Popish Missionaries, from the fifteenth Century and downward. That I might be able to meet with them, I have look'd into *Manuel di Faria y Sousa*, who has writ the history of the discovery and conquest of *India*, by the *Portugueze*, containing all their discoveries from the coasts of *Afric*, to the farthest parts of *China* and *Japan*; all their battles by sea and land, sieges and other memorable actions, with a description of those countries, in three tomes; which are englisht by captain *Stevens*, and printed at *London*, 1695. where we have a history of the *Portugueze* navigations and affairs in these countries, from the year 1412, to 1640. Many of these things, in remote parts of the world, seem a little tedious to us, tho' we may own, that in this history there are many strange adventures, and bloody encounters: Into the detail of which I do not enter; only may observe, that *Vasco di Gama*, with three ships,

* *Texeira's Travels*, pag. 17. in a Collection of Travels, printed 1711, in 4to.

ships, first discovered the way to the *East Indies*, by the Cape of *Good Hope*, in the year 1493. Very considerable conquests and settlements were made by him, and by the *Portugueze* afterward, under the government of *Alfonso di Albuquerque*, from the year 1509, to 1515. *Ferdinando di Castaneda*, in his history of the *Indies* *, says, *That Gama, with some of his retinue being at Calecut, and entering into the Pagan Temples, paid their reverence to the images there, taking them for the same which they had left in their own churches in Portugal: A convincing proof, that Pagan and Romish idols are so like, that the difference is hardly discernible, even by their own votaries !*

But I'm principally to observe what relates to the Propagation of Christianity. Our author, *Manuel di Faria*, says †, that the King and Queen of *Congo* in *Africa*, with a great multitude of their people, were baptized in the year 1491. He also remarks, that some princes of *Malabar*, long before the *Portugueze* Conquests in the *Indies*, were persuaded by the *Moors*, who traded in these parts, to turn *Mabometan* ‡. It were happy, if Christians who now trade into those parts, could have the influence to persuade those princes to embrace Christianity. The same author says, that about the year 1544, in the government of *Martin Alfonso de Sousa*, one *Anthony de Payva*, who went as a merchant, but proved more preacher than merchant, had some conference with the king of *Supa*, who was seventy years of age, and was very near being converted. *Payva* sailing thence, went to the port of *Siam*, where he explained the articles of religion to the king, and urged the absurdity of the adoration of idols, pressing him to embrace the Christian Faith; but the king desired time to consider. Mean time the king of *Supa* arrived at *Siam*, and hearing what had passed, said, *a work so good ought rather to be put in execution than delayed.* He was only sorry for the time he himself had lost,

* Lib. 1. cap. 16. See *Philips's Religion and Manners of Malabar.*

† *Portugueze Asia*, Tom. 1. pag. 32.

‡ *Portugueze Asia*, Tom. 1. pag. 100.

lost, and would attone by being the first convert, and desired immediately to be baptized. All stood amazed, and there being no priest, the ancientest of the *Portugueze* performed the function, and he was christened *Lewis*. Then the queen, and many who came with him, were baptized also: which solemnity was celebrated by the guns, and warlike instruments in the place. The king of *Siam*, moved by this example, was baptized, with his whole family*. I relate the story as I find it.

In Tome 2d, Part 4th, this author † has a pretty large account of the opinions and superstitions of the *Asiatic* Heathens, and particularly of the *Indians*; which I shall not trouble my reader with, having explained them from other authors, in the former chapter. Near the end of that volume, he says ‖, *Christianity being now utterly corrupted in some parts of Asia, and quite lost in others, the Portugueze arms, accompanied with apostolical ministers, went thither to restore it. The first who baptized in that part of Asia, was F. Peter de Cubilones, of the holy order of the Blessed Trinity, and confessor to the first discoverer, Vasco di Gama. The most successful labourers after him, were in India, Michael Vaz, and James de Borba, and other Religious, of the order of St. Francis. In the Molucco islands, Captain Francis di Castro, who converted five kings in the island Mazacar, Captain Anthony de Payva, who in the same island baptized two kings, and their courts, in one day. There is very little more concerning the propagation of Christianity in this Portugueze history; the most part of it being taken up with their wars, conquests, good and bad fortune, by sea and land. 'Tis true, they had, and still have an archbishop at Goa, whom they call metropolitan and primate of Asia; Cochim was made a bishoprick in the year 1559, Malacca the same year, and Meliapor in 1607 ‡, beside many other ecclesiastics. But they are now dis-*
possessed

* *Portugueze Asia*, Tom. 2. pag. 81, 82.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 375, & seq. ‖ *Ibidem*, pag. 516.

‡ *Di Faria's Portugueze Asia*, Tom. 3. pag. 419.

possessed of almost all these parts, except *Goa*; and when they had them, they minded little about the propagation of Christianity.

The great man the church of *Rome* boasts of, as most successful in this work, is *Francis Xavier*, whom they call the Apostle of the *Indies*. The sum of his life, even as given by popish authors *, is as follows: He was born of a noble family at *Pampelona* in *Navarre*, in the year 1497; he studied and taught philosophy and divinity at *Paris*, whence he went companion to *Ignatius Loyola*, founder of the order of Jesuits, and followed his rule. He came to *Portugal*, in order to pass into *India*, in the year 1540, in the reign of king *John III.* he was honoured with the dignity of Apostolical Nuncio in the East, and during his voyage, and also in the *Indies*, was called Holy Father; he preached in the island *Zocotora*, at *Goa*, and *Travancor*, where he was persecuted. It cost him no less pains to reclaim the *Portuguese*, debauched with the riches of *Asia*, than to convert infidels. In the island *Ceylon*, he converted the king of *Candea*; he went thence to the *Moluccoes*, and is said to have converted many people. After several times traversing the *Indian* islands, and some parts of that continent, he went to *Japan*, and with the prince's leave preached at *Congoxima*, and endured several hardships; thence went to *Firando*, *Yam*, *Anguibi* and *Miaco*, where, with great pains, he planted the faith. After converting the king of *Bungo*, who soon after died a Christian, being called *Francis* at baptism, he returned to *Malacca*. Next, he prepared to go into *China*, and died at the entry to it, in the island *Sancyon*, *Anno Dom.* 1552. the fifty-fifth year of his age, and eleventh of his preaching, having first foretold the day of his death, which was *December 2d*, about midnight. His body, the year following, was translated to *Goa*; he was canonized by Pope *Gregory XV.* in the year 1622. This is the whole story of his life, as delivered by *Manuel di Faria*. As to the great number of converts he is said to have made, I have taken

* *Ibidem*, Tom. 2. pag. 516.

taken some notice of them already *, and shall perhaps meet with them again, before I have done with this chapter. And as to the miracles he is alledged to have done, recited in his bull of canonization by Pope *Urban VIII.* in the year 1623, the first of his pontificate, noticed by *F. Boubours* and other writers of *Xavier's* life, and summed by *Hoornbeeck* †; as, that a whole army that was marching against the Christians, at the sight of *Xavier*, was terrified, and forced to retire; that at *Comorin* he restored a dead man to life; that he healed a beggar full of ulcers, by washing him in water; calmed tempests; restored several to life, as they were carrying out to be buried; that at *Tolo* in the *Moluccoes*, having baptized twenty-five thousand people, when they were like to apostatize, he made a mountain to vomit up a great deal of fire, ashes, and pumice-stones, the walls of the city to fall flat by an earthquake, and to be taken by its enemies, prepared to revenge the apostasy of that people; but at last, when the people fell at his feet, and declared their repentance, he pardoned their fault: that when he preached to several nations, every one heard him speaking in their own language; thus they make an Apostle of him: These things are like other miracles, advanced to favour the canonization of popish saints, fabulous and romantic, that cannot be credited, but by those who are given up to strong delusions, to believe a lye. How could such an itinerant preacher learn so many difficult languages, so as to be able to preach to, and instruct so many far distant people, in different countries and islands, and all in eleven years space? Especially, since these gifts are now ceased, and *Xavier* himself says ‡, *If we understood the language of Japan, I doubt not but very many would be persuaded to embrace Christianity; but now we are as dumb statues before them, they speak many things before us, which we understand not, being ignorant*

* Above, pag. 178.

† *Hoornbeeck de Conversione Indorum*, pag. 203, 204. —

‡ *Xavier Epist. lib. 3: Epist. 5.*

norant of their native tongue, and we, in the mean time, are like boys, learning the first elements of their language. After all, it appears by the *Jesuits Letters*, and others, who have travelled into those parts, that the Papists invoke and idolize *Xavier*, and keep festivals to his memory : but 'tis time to take our leave of him.

The church of *Rome* has been at great pains to compass sea and land to make profelytes. 'Tis not easy, nor very edifying, to give account of all the missions, the several nations in her communion, have sent here and there thro' the earth. But we have a view of the state of religion among them, throughout the world, writ for the use of Pope *Innocent XI.* by *Monseignior Cerri*, Secretary to the congregation de *Propaganda Fide*, which was found in the library of the abbot of *St. Gall*, after he had been defeated by the troops of *Zurich* and *Bern*, and lodged in the library of *Zurich*. *Sir Richard Steele* has caused it to be translated into *English*, and printed in the year 1715. From this author, I take the following account of the popish missionaries for propagating Christianity among the heathens in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*; following pretty near the method of the former chapter, and sometimes adding a few remarks from others. When I have done with him, I shall give some accounts of popish missionaries from other authors, and particularly of the missions to *China*.

I begin with *Asia*. The Ancients, says *D. Urbano Cerri**, had some knowledge of the *East Indies*; but 'tis certain, the discovery of these countries ought properly to be ascribed to the *Portugueze*, who having crossed the seas, made themselves arbiters, if not masters, of all these coasts and islands, which are divided into many kingdoms. The *Portugueze* have been possessed of them for a long time, to the advantage of the Catholick Faith. The fear the *Indians* conceived, of being subject to the crown and laws of *Portugal*, if they

* Account of the *Roman Catholick Religion thro' the World*, pag. 104. and following. —

they should become Christians, put a stop to their conversion. These nations being divided into several tribes, had rather suffer any thing than forsake their own tribe; and therefore a Jesuit, named *Robert de Nobili*, before he went into a mission to the kingdom of *Madure*, used himself to the austere life of the *Brachmans*, abstaining from wine and flesh, and every thing that had life in it. He being arrived in the *East Indies*, said he was a *Brachman*, which, says my author, was no lye, and made great progress in the conversion of the *Indians*, preaching up, *that every body ought to remain in his own tribe*. After he had converted twelve *Brachmans*, he made them his companions and catechists, and baptized in a very little time forty thousand persons of several tribes. Being sensible of the usefulness of this method to proselyte the heathens, he proposed to erect a seminary of *Brachmans*, to make them, if not priests, at least catechists; but the *Portugueze*, and Jesuits themselves, did not approve of it. Thus, after the death of that father, the true method of keeping and increasing the number of new converts fell to the ground. There are in the college *de Propaganda Fide*, some places for the *Brachmans*, founded by Cardinal *St. Onofrio*, and three *Brachmans* are at present educated in that college.

The empire of the *Great Mogul* is an inlet to the *Indies*, both by sea and land; his empire consists of thirty-seven kingdoms, now reduced into provinces, where he keeps governours: so that he is equal to, if not greater than the *Turkish Emperor*, in power and riches. As for religion, he is a *Mahometan*, and follows the exposition of the *Alcoran* made by *Ali*: he has a great veneration for one of his ancestors, who reigned at the end of the last century, who seems to have had some knowledge of the *Catholic Religion*; for he had a great esteem for images, and our priests; nay, he sent for one as far as *Bengala*, to be instructed by him; but because he did not well understand the mysteries of our faith, and would not part with his concubines, he could not be converted. This Emperor

was succeeded by his son, who, when in rebellion against his father, was defeated by the advice of the *Portugueze*, whereupon he swore to his false prophet, *that if ever he should reign, he would persecute all the Christians*; and indeed he destroyed a whole town belonging to the *Portugueze*. However, many conversions being made in his father's time, there was in the year 1640, some hope of bettering the condition of our religion, which is the reason why the congregation was desired to send missionaries into that kingdom. The *Theatines* lived in the kingdom of *Golconda*, which is tributary to the *Great Mogul*, and rich in mines and diamonds: That mission, which was the only one in that country, is now quite over. But the bare-footed *Carmelites* are settled at *Tatta*, a populous city, where they have a church, and some faithful; but very much lessened, since the *Portugueze* were expelled from thence. *Surat* is a famous port, where the *French Capuchines* make their residence, who are serviceable to the missionaries. To conclude, the *Great Mogul* allows liberty of conscience in his vast dominions; which should move the Holy See to provide that empire with missionaries, and even to send thither a bishop to propagate the Christian Religion.

Idalcan is a populous kingdom of Heathens, not far from *Goa*; there is a congregation of priests, who are natives of that country, and all *Brachmans*; they have made a vast number of converts, and live in common under the rule of St. *Philip Neri*, founded there by the Bishop of *Crispoli*, who was an *Indian*, and died lately very old in the college *de Propaganda Fide*. After he had been bred at *Rome*, and made a bishop, he was sent into that kingdom, where he built two churches at his own charge. There is now in that country one of his kinsmen, with the title of *Apostolical Vicar*, called the Bishop of *Hierapoli*, bred at the college. Another *Indian* Bishop has been lately made; he is a *Theatine*, and related to the Bishop of *Crispoli* above-named; he has jurisdiction as an *Apostolical Vicar* in several kingdoms about *Cape Comorin*, and the coast of *Pescara*; we

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hope for good from him, but the *Portugueze* are displeased with bishops sent from *Rome* into those parts, without their consent; and if the Holy See does not put a stop to their pretensions, Religion will neither be propagated nor preserved in the *East Indies*.

As to *Malabar*, Christianity was established there by the glorious Apostle *St. Thomas*; the Christians who live in the states of twenty-one petty kings, have one thousand four hundred villages, great or small, and an hundred and twenty-seven churches, with their priests. The number of these Christians, says *M. Cerri* *, amounts to two hundred thousand. They have a veneration for the holy cross, are careful to pray for the souls in purgatory, and to fast; tho' they live in woods and mountains, yet they prove good *Catholics*, and obedient to the Bishop of *Rome*. They fell into the schism of *Nestorius*, but were freed from it by the intercession of *Alexio Menezes*, in the time of Pope *Paul V.* and had a native for their Archdeacon, who being an ambitious man, dispensed the Sacraments invalidly, and committed many irregularities. The bare-footed *Carmelites* being sent to them, they returned to the obedience of the church of *Rome*, and an *Indian* Bishop was regularly ordained for them. Many *Jesuits* were sent to their country, and continued there forty years. Of this church in *Malabar*, I have discoursed more fully in the foregoing chapter †, where the reader may find a more full and true account of these Christians.

M. Cerri next goes to *Bengala*, and says, in this vast country watered by the *Ganges*, there are twenty-two thousand Christians, divided into eleven parishes, each of which has a curate and vicar; but there are great disorders, not only among the Lay-Christians, who plunge themselves into all manner of vice, but even among the Curates themselves, who live a loose life, keep a great many servants, are generally very ignorant of the languages and sciences, and extremely greedy

* *Cerri*, ubi supra, pag. 108.

† Above, pag. 148, — 152.

greedy of money, which has occasioned many inconveniencies.

M. Cerri laments*, that the *Dutch* company have possessed themselves of the isles of *Java* and *Moluccoes*, seized the city *Malacca*, settled themselves in *Ceylon*, and taken many other places in *Bisnagar*, in the coasts of *Travanor*, *Cranganor*, *Conanor*, &c. and in short, are very powerful in the *East Indies*. That the *Danes* have a fortress at *Tranquebar*, on the coast of *Coromandel*; and the *English* at *Matras*. But tho' all this be a loss to the designs of the church of *Rome*, yet I hope it shall prove useful for promoting true Christianity among the heathen *Indians*, as we may hear more fully before we have done with this history.

Goa is still in possession of the *Portuguese*, where a Popish Archbishop resides. Concerning this city, I shall add from another author†, that *Albuquerque*, the victorious *Portuguese*, took it in the year 1509, and his countrymen afterward defended it against seventy thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, which *Idul-Cann* brought to reduce it; and it has been since much enlarged and beautified. Above twenty little towns, planted by the *Portuguese*, are seen within thirty miles compass, as also the ruins of two hundred idol temples, which the viceroy *Antonio Norogna* utterly demolished, that no memory nor monuments might remain of so gross heathenish idolatry.

Above forty of the *Philippine* islands are under the dominion of the King of *Spain*, above five hundred monks are dispersed thro' these isles, where, says M. Cerri, they teach the Christian Doctrine, and have many converts. The most considerable of them is *Lusson*, in which stands *Manilla*, an archiepiscopal city, full of churches, convents, colleges, hospitals, and other religious places. These isles have produced very diligent men for the missions of *Japan*, and now many *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* go from them into *China*.

* Cerri, ubi supra, pag. 112.

† Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, in Harris's Collection, Vol. I. pag. 210.

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China. Gemelli Careri has a beautiful description of them*. In the beginning of the sixth volume of the Jesuits Letters, printed at *Paris*, by a letter given at *Carouvepondi* in the kingdom of *Carnate*, *January* 1st, 1702, we have a discovery of several more *Philippine* islands than were before known, with a chart of them.

The isles called *Ladrones* are in the *South-Sea*, three hundred leagues distant from the *Philippines*, ill provided with things necessary for life. It is within these ten years that a *Spanish* Jesuit called Father *St. Vittores*, did so prevail with the Queen, her ministers, and his superiors, that he settled there a mission of his own order, which made a great progress in a short time; but at last he suffered martyrdom, with two of his companions, and therefore six other fathers were sent thither last year, to assist the former mission.

China is a vast empire, divided from *Tartary* by a wall of five hundred leagues; 'tis very populous, and abounds with every thing necessary for use. The inhabitants are all idolaters, excepting some few, who have been made Christians within these hundred years. The progress of *Christianity* among the *Chinese* was so considerable in the very beginning, that one might have expected a speedy and easy conversion of that people; but the fathers of the society having obtained the title of *Mandarins*, and the eminent post of the head of the *Mathematicians*, to which sciences the *Chinese* are mighty pretenders, they were not only banished from that country, but also a persecution raised against the *Roman Catholic Religion*. They falsely accused these fathers of keeping intelligence with the *Portuguese*, to the prejudice of *China*, and of a design to have it subdued by *European* nations. Whereupon the *Tartars*, who now reign in that country, conquered by the father of the present king, suspecting, that during that prince's minority the people had a mind to shake off their yoke, prohibited all manner of commerce with foreigners, and particularly with the *Portuguese*. We are informed, this severe edict has been recalled, and that it

has been declared, *the Catholic Religion is not prejudicial to the empire of China*: And therefore the *Dominicans* in the *Philippine* islands, the *Minor Observantines*, and even the *Jesuits*, have begun to return to that country. But the last letters from thence inform us, there are new wars in that empire, that the *Chinese* of the ancient royal family have begun to expel the *Tartars*; and therefore 'tis to be feared, such a change of government may, for some politick ends, occasion new persecutions against the *Roman Catholic Religion*. But of the popish missions to *China*, we may speak more afterwards.

Siam is a kingdom situate in the Southern part of the *Indies*, beyond the gulf of *Bengala*, and consists of eleven provinces, once as many kingdoms, the chief whereof is *Siam*, so called from its capital city, where its king resides; there he has a publick church and a seminary, where the natives are instructed to be made priests. In the beginning of the mission he desired to be informed of the mysteries of our religion, which were explained to him by the missionaries in the *Siamese* language, and he allowed materials to build a church, which was done. The *Mahometans* obstruct propagating the faith, and send missions to the king, to persuade him to embrace *Mahometanism*, yet our missionaries make great progress.

Cochin-China borders on *Tonchin* and *Siam*. The inhabitants appear well affected to *Christianity*, and, were it not for persecution and royal edicts, would embrace it. This kingdom is under the pastoral care of the Bishop of *Barutti*, he and other missionaries have made great progress there, and in the kingdom of *Ciampa* subject to it.

Cambaja pays now tribute to the King of *Cochin-China*. There is a very ancient temple, as famous among the *Gentiles*, as *St. Peter's* at *Rome* is among the *Christians*; many *Talapoins*, who are great doctors of the law, live in the temple, neighbouring nations resort to it, to consult the oracle, and go thither by way of pilgrimage: the King of *Siam*, tho' an enemy, sends every

every year an embassy to that place. The Apostolical Vicars have made converts in this kingdom, but because the language of the country is difficult, and for some other reasons, have not been able to propagate the Christian Faith in it. There are many sorcerers in this and the adjacent kingdoms.

Tonchin eight hundred years ago was a province of *China* and *Cochin-China*; it is now a kingdom almost as large as *France*, and very fruitful, lying in the *Torrid Zone*. Their King, called *Bua*, never comes out of his palace but once a year, to receive homage from the king of *Civa*; he has full power over the provinces, and makes war or peace as he thinks fit. Father *Alexander de Rhodes* a Jesuit, was the first who brought *Christianity* to that kingdom, where it was spread by the diligence of the fathers who accompanied him; but a violent persecution forced him to leave that kingdom, so as in the year 1666, when the missionaries sent by the Bishop of *Barutti* arrived there, the Christian Religion was prohibited under severe penalties: But by their application, they have converted many eminent persons at court, and in other parts of the country. Tho' the persecution has been revived, and attended with death and torments of the Faithful, yet, as it happened in the primitive church, the Christian Religion has increased by the blood of the martyrs. *Gemelli Careri* says, *these people are idolaters* *, *but they are easy to be converted; and when once they have embraced the faith, they continue stedfast in it.*

Japan consists of three great islands, and is divided into sixty-six kingdoms. The *Roman Catholic Religion* was first preached in that country by *Francis Xavier*, and then by *Peter Batta* martyr. It made great progress in a short time, particularly in the city *Nangasacki*, or *Nangazacki*, a port of great trade. The number of Christians in *Japan*, says my author †, did once amount to six hundred thousand. Some Bishops were consecrated, and many more designed for that

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country,

* *Tour du Monde*, Tome troisieme, pag. 387.

† *Cerri*, ubi supra, pag. 126.

country, by the congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. Many things occasioned the persecution there raised against the *Latins*, and the destruction of religion in *Japan*; but the main cause, was the Emperor's suspicion, that the King of *Spain* designed to subdue him, as he had done the Kings of *Mexico* and *Peru*. Being told, that the King of *Spain* made use of Monks, who by preaching the Gospel in America, opened a way for his troops to enter into those parts of the world; and observing in his own dominions *Augustines* and *Dominicans*, and that the Jesuits had seventy-three houses, with several churches and seminaries; he began to fear some such mischief to be a hatching. This calumny was invented by the *Dutch*, who traded in these islands, and the Emperor was confirmed in his suspicion, because a captain of *Biscay*, who used to sound the ports of *Japan*, performed on the shore the military ceremonies practised in taking possession of a country, and the King of *Vexory*, tributary to the Emperor of *Japan*, sent an embassy to the King of *Spain* in the year 1613. The persecution began in 1615, and, it seems, the fathers of the jesuitical society did contribute to it, by meddling with political affairs, and trading publicly. Their hardships continued many years, many of their order were martyr'd, with a vast number of other religious and lay people, and particularly an army of forty thousand *Roman Catholics*. Thus *Christianity* was in a manner extirpated in *Japan*. Had the natives, says M. Cerri, been ordained priests, it would have prevailed to this very day, notwithstanding all persecution; however, there are still many catholics in that country, who propagate the Christian Faith among themselves, the fathers baptize their children, and many suffer martyrdom every year. They stand in great need of missionaries, the *Dominicans* in the *Philippine islands* endeavour to send some privately.

Leaving M. Cerri a little, we may guess what sort of Christians these popish proselytes were, by a passage of Captain Sarris's voyage to these islands in 1611, or there-

thereabouts. I cannot, says he *, but take notice of an odd mistake in a matter of devotion, made by some Japanese gentlewomen whom I admitted into my cabin; these were some whom the Portuguese Jesuits had been at work upon, and had learned them some little matters of Christianity, as the saying of a few gibberish prayers, or the cringing before an image or picture came to. The good women being in the cabin, chanced to cast their eyes upon a picture of Venus and Cupid that hung there, at which sight they were immediately seized with a fit of devotion, and clapped upon their knees without any more ado, tumbling out all the Religion they had learned of the Fathers, and very zealous they were in their addresses to the two modest Deities painted before them. The business was, they mistook this pair for the blessed Virgin and her Son, whom the Jesuits had given them so slender an account of, that they knew no difference between them and Cupid and Venus.

To return, leaving *Asia* for a while, I pass with *M. Cerri*, into

Africa: Tho' this part of the world be larger than *Europe*, it contains not so many inhabitants, by reason of the vast desarts that are there. The congregation has sent missions thither, but they do not remain, thro' the bad temper of the *Africans*, and want of patience in the missionaries.

Egypt is a noble country of great trade, it was conquered by *Sultan Selim* in the year 1517; 'tis now inhabited by *Turks* and *Arabians*, and *Christian Greeks*, and *Coptes*. The *Arabic* language is necessary to their conversion; the mission resides at *Cairo*, whence the Fathers may send to comfort the catholic slaves in the *Turkish* galleys. The number of the *Latins* all over *Egypt* doth not amount to 2000, among whom are many merchants of several nations, especially *French* and *Venetian*. The *Coptes* make up 4000 souls, and might easily be converted to the Catholic Church,

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says

* *Harris's Complete Collection of Voyages*, Vol. 1. pag. 123.

says my author *, if they were instructed by good-natur'd missionaries. They have a patriarch, that dignity is always bestowed on a meer monk, who has constantly lived in celibacy in a cloister: and therefore, whosoever is once a bishop, can never be made a patriarch. Their chief errors are, they look on *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches* as saints, they practise circumcision tho' they are baptized; they don't acknowledge the Pope, but the Patriarch of *Alexandria*; they reject the council of *Chalcedon*, and admit but one nature, one will, and one operation in *Christ*.

Here allow me to observe, that tho' the popish writers against Protestants maintain the perpetual consent of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, and its subjection to the See of *Rome*, as *Leo Allatius, de Ecclesiæ Occidentalis & Orientalis perpetua consensione*, and others; yet when they write to lay the state of the church before the Pope, in order to promote their own designs, they plainly own the *Greek* church to be schismatics and heretics, not subject to their church. This appears not only from the passage before us, but also from several others in *M. Cerri*, particularly, when he speaks of any country where the *Greek* Religion is professed. Thus he owns †, *That the Christians in Ethiopia acknowledge the patriarch of Alexandria as their supreme head in spiritual things.* To proceed with *M. Cerri*:

There was in *Arda* and *Nigritia* a mission of Capuchines of the province of *Castile*, sent thither in the year 1659, by the congregation, at the request of the King of that country, by his Ambassador at the court of *Spain*. The missionaries met with a kind reception, but they soon went off without making any considerable progress, supposing, the King pretended to turn Catholic, only to settle a trade with *Spain*. Some missionaries are since returned to that country.

In the year 1652, the congregation founded in the kingdom of *Sierra de Leone* a mission of *Spanish* Capuchines; they set out 15 in number, but three of them
only

* *Urbano Cerri*, as above, pag. 128.

† *Urbano Cerri*, pag. 130.

only arrived in that country ; the rest were taken by the *Portugueze* then at war with *Spain*. These missionaries converted some of the people, baptized some of their princes, and many commons, and built some churches in their chief towns ; for which reason some other Religious were sent thither in 1657, and in 1664, but Monseignior *Molini*, his Holiness's nuncio in *Spain*, has informed the congregation this present year, that this mission is wholly forsaken, the churches spoiled and destroyed, and that the Catholics there have no ministry.

The kingdom of *Oviero* lies on the west coast of *Africa*, bordering upon the kingdom of *Benin* ; the king of that country, having embraced the Catholic Religion, wrote a letter to *Innocent X.* in the year 1651, beseeching that Pope to send him some evangelic ministers, for the benefit of himself and his subjects. Accordingly a mission of Capuchines was settled, not only in the kingdom of *Oviero*, but also in that of *Benin*, tho' all the inhabitants of the latter are heathen idolaters, and even worship their king. Thirteen priests with their præfect were sent thither ; they made a great progress, not only converting the king, but also persuaded him to marry a *Portugueze* woman. Afterward they were persecuted by the Vicar-general, who pretended, they could not be there without his permission, he sent the præfect prisoner to *Lisbon*, where he was soon set at liberty. That country is now governed in ecclesiastic affairs by the bishop of *St. Thomas*, a *Portugueze*.

There are in *Guinea*, which is a vast country under the *Torrid Zone*, many colonies of *English*, *Dutch*, *Swedes* and *Danes* ; a mission of Capuchines was settled there in 1674, at the request of the provincial of *Bretagne*, who was informed the inhabitants were very teachable, and almost without any Religion. These missionaries being arrived in *Guinea*, were kindly received by the King of the *Negroes*, and said mass in his presence.

In a place called, *The Bastion of France*, there was a mission of bare-footed *Augustines* for *Numidia*, and the adjacent provinces ; but it was suppressed by the death of a *French* merchant, who supported the same.

In the year 1636, the Capuchines of the province of *Normandy* were sent missionaries to *Cape Verde*, and their provincial had the title of *Præfekt* given him ; but they left the country, because they could not live in it.

The kingdom of *Congo* lies on the western shore of *Africa*, and reaches almost to the confines of *Ethiopia*. It is divided into six large countries, inhabited by Christians and Heathens ; it was converted to the Christian Faith by the *Portuguese*, about the year 1490. Pope *Clement VIII.* granted them a Bishop ; he erected a cathedral in the capital city called *St. Salvador*, and put it under the Archbishop of *Lisbon*, but the *Portuguese* removed it to *Loanda*, and called it the Bishoprick of *Angola*. The congregation founded a mission of Capuchines there in 1641, who make their residence at *Loanda*, where they have a church and a convent with a Choir. They have made great progress in these kingdoms, converting many inhabitants, and have introduced the sacraments according to the rites of the church of *Rome*. The tyranny of the nobility is a great obstruction, who being extremely addicted to rapine, think it lawful and honourable to take away other mens goods. The people, who are rather slaves than subjects, dare not depart from their example. There is no place in the kingdom of *Congo*, (much less in other pagan countries not so well instructed) but what has an idolatrous priest, who is a necromancer and a forcerer ; tho' these priests fear and shun the missionaries, confessing, *they cannot withstand the ministers of our God*, yet they leave nothing unattempted to convert the simple, and do very much prejudice to religion. 'Tis undeniable, that the number of Christian Priests cannot be sufficient there, unless some of the natives be ordained, as the congregation has frequently declared.

The isle of *Madagascar* or *St. Laurence*, lies over-against the eastern shore of *Africa* to the south; it is as large as *Great-Britain*. The *Dutch* had a fortified port in it, but were expelled by the natives, who are idolaters. The *French* took possession of the same port, and built a fort on the foundations of that which had been built by the *Dutch*. *Vincentio di Paulo* founded a mission there by the consent of the congregation, and sent eight missionaries, who converted 5000 people in a short time; but now the *French* have also been expelled from thence, and the fathers of the mission are resolved to forsake it, not being able to live there any longer.

In the year 1630, the See of *Rome* had an account of the conversion of the Emperor of *Monomotapa*, made by Father *Aloyso dello Spirito Santo* a Dominican, who desired the congregation to send missionaries to his assistance; whereupon a letter concerning the choice of some religious persons was sent to *Portugal*, and in the year 1632 ten missionaries set out from thence by the King's order for *Monomotapa*, from which time we have had no further information concerning them.

Such is the present state of Christianity in *Africa*, according to M. *Cerri*; the *Mahometans* inhabit towards the *Mediterranean* sea, from the bottom of it to the streights of *Gibraltar*; but the greater part of that quarter of the world is possessed by pagan infidels and schismatics; that is, the church of *Abyssinia*, (of whom we have discoursed in the former chapter) in many things purer than the church of *Rome*. After all, it appears to me, that popery has got little footing in *Africa*, except in some places possessed by the *Spanish* and *Portuguese*, especially in the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola* *. But I go now to

America, otherwise called the *West-Indies*. It is a new world of large extent, a great part of it belongs to the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*; the *French*, *English* and

* Dapper de l'Afrique.

and *Dutch* have also a considerable share. There is in that new world several bishopricks, universities, convents and missions ; but if we take a nearer survey of it, the Popish Religion has made a very small progress there. I do not mean in the provinces subject to popish princes, but in the vast number, says M. Cerri, possessed by *English* and *Dutch* heretics †.

Christopher Columbo, as before observed ‖, began to take possession of the *West-Indies*, in the name of the King of *Castile*, which occasioned several disputes between that Prince and *John* the second King of *Portugal*. Pope *Alexander VI.* to whom the decision of that great contest was referred, divided the world in such a manner, that excepting those provinces already possessed by Christians, the Eastern parts should belong to the crown of *Portugal*, and the Western to that of *Castile*.

Leaving *Monf. Cerri* a little, allow me to observe, That the Pope here divides what is not his own, nor at his disposal. Who gave him a power to grant it to whom he will? To argue from this among Protestants is ridiculous, and among Papists themselves is precarious. Besides, the *Indians* were committed to the *Spaniards*, on condition, *the latter should teach the former the knowledge of the Christian Religion*, as is proved by *Don Bartholomew de las Casas* Bishop of *Chiapa*, in his account of the first discoveries made by the *Spaniards* in *America*, and relation of their unparalleled cruelties * ; where he likewise owns, *That by acquitting themselves so ill of that commission, they ought to make restitution of all that they have taken from the Indians under that pretext*: and he charges them † with breach of terms prescribed by the apostolical brief, tho' King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Isabella*, to whom it was granted, earnestly desired them, by their last will, to keep exactly to it. He pleads, that the title of the King of

Spain

† *Cerri's Account of the Catholic Religion*, pag. 148.

‖ Above, pag. 206.

* *Bishop of Chiapa's Spanish Discoveries and Cruelties*, pag. 195.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 200.

Spain to the *Indies* is founded only upon the obligation he had taken to instruct them in the true Faith, as appears by the apostolical brief * ; which the *Spaniards* were so far from performing, that instead of converting their souls, they destroyed their bodies, having even in those days, viz. in the reign of the Emperor *Charles V.* murdered above forty millions of them ; and took so little care to instruct them in Christianity, that they perfectly obstructed their conversion, and sold those very idols the poor people had thrown away with abhorrence, to others of the *Indians* † ; which, together with their horrid impieties and cruelties, created an aversion in these poor infidels at heaven itself, according to the known story of *Hathney* an *Indian* prince ‡, who being fastned to a stake by the *Spaniards* in order to be burnt, for no other crime but defending himself and his subjects against their cruelties, asked a Friar, who was discoursing him of heaven, and promising him happiness, if he did believe, and threatening him with hell, if he did not, *if heaven was open to the Spaniards?* And being answered, *It was, to such of them as were good* ; he replied immediately, *He would not go there, for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked company, but would much rather chuse to go to hell, where he might be delivered from the troublesome sight of such kind of people.*

To return to *M. Cerri* ; *Spain* pretends, that their King is the apostolical delegate, and supreme director of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in this new world. I shall take notice of those provinces where there are or have been popish missions for propagating Christianity, and converting infidels. To begin with *Peru*, *Lima* is now the chief city in that part of the world. It is the residence of the *Spanish* viceroys, and an archiepiscopal see. Excepting some towns possessed by the *Spaniards*, the bulk of *Peru* is inhabited by infidels, who worship the sun, the moon, stars or trees. They are full of superstition and witch-craft, conversing with
the

* Bishop of *Chiapa's* *Spanish Discoveries and Cruelties*, pag. 218.

† Ibidem, pag. 194.

‡ Ibidem, pag. 21.

the devil ; and a great many, after they have been baptized, relapse into their old errors. They are very lustful, conversing with both sexes, regarding no consanguinity, and even sin with all sorts of animals. The missionaries, says our author, take more pains to root out the vices of their new converts, than to confirm them in the Catholic Faith. Father *Paul di Roas*, an *Augustine*, spent above forty years in his ministry among them, even in remote countries and provinces. There have been several missions of *Dominicans*, *Augustines*, and *Minor Observantines* sent them, among whom *Francis Solano* made the greatest progress.

The people who dwell upon the river of the *Amazons*, were discovered in the year 1638, by a Jesuit, who published a relation of that country in *Spanish*. They worship idols, which they keep in their houses, and implore their assistance in fishing, and seed-time, and war. Many missions have been sent thither at several times, as of the *Capuchines* of *Valencia*, the *Minor Observantines*, the monks of *St. Anthony* of *Portugal*, and the *Dominicans* ; but we don't know what they do, or have done.

The *Spaniards*, who first conquered *America*, called the adjacent isles, *Isolas Antillas* ; the *French* call them *Antilles* or *Caribes*, from a barbarous nation who live there. Some of these islands belong to *England*, others to the *Dutch*, and others to the King of *France*. Father *Bretton*, a *French Dominican*, who lived many years among them, composed a *Grammar*, a *Dictionary*, and a *Catechism*, in their language, which may be a help to their conversion. Where the *French* prevail, as at *St. Christopher's*, *Caienne*, *Martinico*, and *Guadaloupe*, the Popish Religion is promoted ; and the *Dominicans* perform the mission. Where the *Dutch* and *English* prevail, the Protestant Religion is advanced. But alas ! the infidelity of the natives, and of the negro slaves remains ; they are wild and barbarous, and too little care is taken of their instruction.

Brasil is a vast country, formerly described *; it was discovered by the *Portuguese*, who finding it very fruitful, tho' uncultivated, by reason of the barbarousness of the inhabitants, they made themselves masters of it, building forts near the shore, and settling colonies; by which the barbarous natives being soon civilized, did betake themselves to plough the ground, and trade, especially in sugar, of which there is great plenty in that country. The *Portuguese* remained in quiet possession of it, as long as they had kings of their own; but when the crown of *Portugal* came into the hands of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, the *Dutch* being at war with him, and invited by the *Jews* in *Brasil*, easily conquered that country, and granted liberty to all Religions. In process of time, the *Dutch* government growing too severe, the greater part of *Brasil* revolted, under the conduct of *John Fernandez* and *Antonio Cavalcanti*, who having got together 50000 men, took all the strong places, except *Recifo*, and expelled the *Dutch*; who, tho' they sent a fresh fleet thither, yet were not able to recover what they had lost. An archbishop is there; the *French Capuchines* of *Bretagne* manage the mission, the *Dutch* are expelled even out of *Recifo* and *Pernambuco*; the *Papists* pretend they instruct the natives and negro slaves, tho' I fear very little is done that way.

The provinces of *Rio de Gennaro*, situated in the western and southern parts of *Brasil*, toward the river *de la Plata*, were divided from the diocess of the *Bay of All-Saints*, by *Gregory XIII.* in the year 1675, and an administrator erected there, with episcopal jurisdiction. But, says *M. Cerri* †, *God knows how he behaves, other bishops are at a distance.*

The provinces of *Rio de la Plata*, or *Paraguay*, situate between *Brasil* and *Peru*, to the south, are plentiful regions, and contain several good cities, with *Spanish* colonies, viz. the *Assumption*, *Cividad Real*, and
Sancta

* Above, pag. 221.

† Account of the Catholic Religion, pag. 160.

Sancta Cruz de la Sierra, the seat of the Bishop *de la Plata*, of the governour, and other officers.

The kingdom of *Chili* has a very long coast upon the South Sea, with a ridge of mountains to the east, like the *Alps* in *Europe*; it is a populous and plentiful country, and has some gold and silver mines. Their chief town is *St. Jago*, a *Spanish* colony, where is an episcopal see, and abundance of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and Fathers *de la Mercede*.

The *Patagons* live on the confines of *Chili*, towards the straits of *Magellan*, and have never been subdued, nor did any body venture to penetrate into their country.

The streights of *Magellan* are so dangerous, by reason of their length, narrowness, and storms frequent in these parts, that they are not now so much frequented, as another streight more commodious, and shorter, towards the north, discovered by one *le Mair*, whose name it bears.

The Jesuits who were in *Brasil* and *Peru*, in the year 1580, began to extend their missions into the inland provinces, and Father *Alonso Parsena*, baptized in less than ten years, above 25000 barbarians *; and *F. Emanuel Ortega* a greater number in the provinces of *Paraguay* and *Guaira* (it was easier to give them a name, than to instruct and make them good Christians) being encouraged by this progress, they penetrated as far as *Chili*, in the year 1593. And my author says, they converted many nations. In 1607, they founded the mission of *Paraguay*, 150 leagues in length, and added to it *Chili* and *Tucuman*, with a design to subject that country, not only to Christ, but also to the King of *Spain*, persuading the *Barbarians* to live together, that they might be the better instructed. In 1675, the Fathers, who remained in *Tucuman*, ran over a great many unknown places, and having erected there above eighty churches, made these *Barbarians* more sociable, and in a great measure, conformable to the rites of the *Roman Church*.

The

* *Urbano Cerri's Account of Cath. Relig. pag. 162.*———

The new kingdom of *Granada* is subject to *Spain*; it contains the prefectures of *St. Martha*, *Nuova Cartagena*, and part of *Popajan*. It is a plain country, full of good pastures, abounding with cattle, and has some gold mines. The inhabitants are active and trading; the chief town is *Santa Fe di Bigotta*, a metropolitan See, where are some convents of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*. The province bordering on *New Carthagen*a is inhabited by heathens, dispersed in cottages; each nobleman has many concubines: they offer no sacrifices, but practise divination, and converse familiarly with the devil, who answers their petitions: they have no notion of rewards or punishments after this life. Father *Alfonso de la Croce*, a bare-footed *Augustine*, converted, says M. *Cerri*, 8000 of the heathens to the Christian Faith. In the year 1629, twelve Religious of that order, were sent to that country; that Father was made their Superior, and his power extended to adjacent provinces. This mission was confirmed for twelve other Religious, in 1639.

Terra Firma, properly so called, lies in the middle of *America*; the air is unwholesome, by reason of marshes, and the soil barren. *Panama* is the chief city where the king's officers reside, who govern also *Veragua*, where are gold mines. A mission of the *Capuchines* of *Castile* was founded at *Darien*, in 1646, and confirmed in 1649, and then dismissed; because, tho' they began with zeal, yet they had no great success.

Venezuela is so called, because the chief city is built in a marshy place, like *Venice*; it is a fruitful country, and contains gold mines. The *Capuchines* of *Arragon* performed the mission there, under direction of Father *Francis de Pampeluna*, and went to *Andaluzia*, near the famous river *Oronoque*, where are plentiful salt mines; and to other provinces, where they made great progress. Five princes of those provinces embraced the Christian Religion, and by letters paid obedience to *Clement IX.* which were delivered by *Joseph de Caravantes*. The mission was continued in 1667. Before

the *Capuchines* introduced the Christian Faith to those countries, the inhabitants went naked, and lived in profound ignorance of all things ; only they feared the devil, believing he could preserve or take away their lives. *Polygamy* prevails among them. The ministers of the devil lay many snares in the way of the missionaries ; by them Father *Augustine Villabana* was killed, in the year 1666.

In North *America*, *New France*, called also *Canada*, is a vast country ; tho' it be situated in the temperate zone, the summer is extreme hot, and the winter very cold. It was discovered by the *French*, in 1504. It is full of mountains and solitudes, inhabited by savage heathens : they believe the Immortality of the Soul, the existence of good and bad Angels : they invoke the devil, to whom they sacrifice dogs, and even men, whom they eat, as it happened in 1624, to *John de Venezano*, a *Florentine* captain, in the service of the King of *France*, and his companions. In 1632, the *French* King sent to that country a viceroy, with some officers and ships, who carried along with him several *Recollets*, *Capuchines* and *Jesuits*, to propagate the Christian Faith, which a great many of the natives embraced, especially in the country of the *Hurons*, where the *Jesuits* made great progress. But the *Hurons* being destroyed by the *Iroquois* their enemies, many of the Fathers were martyred. An apostolical Vicar was sent there, in 1658, and afterward a bishoprick erected at *Quebec*, on the river of *St. Laurence*. There are many churches in *Canada*, served by abundance of priests, and in all places possessed by the *French*, a free exercise of the Christian Religion is allowed.

As to the success of true Christianity by *English* Protestants in *New England* and *Virginia*, I shall discourse of it afterwards in the same chapter. The popish missions spoke of by *M. Cerri*, do them little harm.

California is called by *M. Cerri* a great island in the South-Sea ; but it is since discovered to be a part of the

continent *: the King of *Spain* sent thither three ships, in the year 1611, with expert men, and three *Carmelites*, who baptized many inhabitants; at present it is not known what missionaries are there.

In the year 1596, twelve minor Friars entered *New Mexico*, with many soldiers, under the conduct of *John d'Ognati*; about thirty convents have been founded in that country. In 1631, at the solicitation of the *Dominicans* of the province of *Mexico*, the Provincial was impowered to send thither thirty Religious, for the conversion of the heathens in those parts, and to assist the *Franciscans*, who, according to the relations of that year, had converted five hundred thousand heathens, as *M. Cerri* says, whereof eighty six thousand had been baptized, and the others catechised: three of these Religious were put to death, for the Catholic Faith, in 1634, in that part of the country, which had not been subdued by the *Spaniard*.

The great kingdom of *Mexico*, or *New Spain*, does not yield to any other of the new world. It affords plentifully every thing necessary for life, except wine and oil; it has some gold mines, but those of silver are larger, and chiefly out of them silver is brought to *Spain*, the mines of *Potosi* being destroyed. The isles of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba* go by the name of *Mexico*; there are two bishops in these islands, and some convents. It cannot be denied, that the great Empire of *Mexico* was subdued by the *Spaniards*, with great bloodshed, some hundred thousand of the natives being killed, after they submitted to the *Spanish* yoke. The people of *Mexico* were given to drunkenness and other vices; yea, they sacrificed men, and especially young people, to their idols. At first, the sun was their only God; in process of time, they set up other Deities, and worshipped trees, mountains, rivers, fountains, stones, bears, lions, tygers and serpents. They were conquered by the *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *Ferdinand Cortez*, who carried with him minor Friars, to promote their conversion. These Monks are very

* Above, pag. 212.

numerous in *Mexico*, where they have many convents and parishes, and a great many of other religious orders are with them. The congregation obtained of the holy See leave to send bishops to these diocesses; but, when they're sent, they quite forget the apostolical See, and the congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, and never give any account of their diocesses, where there is still a great number of infidels.

Thus I have given a large account of the industry of the church of *Rome*, for propagating Religion among the heathens, from their own writers. I have been perhaps too long with Monseignior *Cerri*; now I have done with him: but I hope the reader will be satisfied, that at once he has a view of the endeavours of papists over the world, for propagating Religion among the heathens; what they have done in some particular places for this end, shall be soon considered.

Only I wish the remark that Mr. *Dampier* has of these proselytes, be not too true. He, when speaking of the converts made by popish missionaries in *Siam* and *Tonquin* in the *East-Indies*, says *, *As to the converts these people have made, I have been credibly informed, that they are chiefly of the poor people; that in scarce times, their alms of rice have converted more than their preaching: and as for those who have been converted, as they call it, that is, to beads, new images, and belief of the Pope, they have fallen off again, as the rice grew plentiful; and would be no longer Christians, than while the priests administered food to them. Yet I cannot think, but that these people, who have such notions of a supreme Deity, might, by the industry and example of good men, be brought to embrace the Christian Faith: but as things stand at present, 'tis very improbable, that Christianity should fructify there; for as the English and Dutch in those parts of the world, are too loose livers, to gain reputation to Religion, so the other Europeans, I mean their missionary priests, are but very blind teachers.*

Joseph Acosta, a Jesuit, born at *Medina del Campo*, in the kingdom of *Leon*, when he had taught a long time

* *Dampier's Voyages*, Vol. 2. pag. 96. printed 1703.

time in *Spain*, was sent into the *Indies*, where he was Provincial of *Peru*, and spent seventeen years in converting the infidels. After his return to *Spain*, in the year 1586, he was made Rector of the college of *Salamanca*, and wrote his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Tho' that book be now old, yet in my humble opinion 'tis still valuable; beside his *Natural History*, the curious may find there a pretty full account of the abominable idolatry of *Mexico* and *Peru*, in the fifth book; and of the government and history of these countries, in the sixth and seventh books. The same author wrote another treatise in *Latin*, *de Procuranda Indorum Salute*; but this is not a history of what is past, but his opinion concerning what is proper to be done, for promoting the conversion of those infidels. Some of his advices may be considered in the following chapter, and therefore I now leave them.

If we look into what popish missionaries have been doing in other parts of the world, as before promised, we may observe, that tho' the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* were the first nations in *Europe*, from the fifteenth Century and downward, who sent missionaries into foreign parts, to convert the heathen, which their great acquisitions in those places gave them occasion to do: yet, in the last age, and particularly, since the year 1658, there have been many missions from *France*, upon the same errand. *Lewis XIV.* thought it his honour and interest to support and encourage them.

Father *Lewis Hennepin*, a *Franciscan*, was one of these *French* missionaries, who in the year 1678, went with *Monf. de la Val*, afterward bishop of *Quebec*, to the *French* plantations in *America*. He wrote an account of his travels, under this title, *A new Discovery of a large Country in North America*, &c. as before observed *, where he advanceth some things concerning the propagation of Christianity in *Canada*, which I shall now take notice of. He boasts of the *Franciscans*, as

* Above, pag. 219;

having done more for propagating Christianity in foreign parts, than the Jesuits. Indeed every one of the popish orders labour to raise trophies to their own praises. But after all, *Monf. Hennepin* seems to speak little of any success in making Christians of the natives in *North America*: for he frankly owns the following obstacles, in the conversion of those savages; as †, First, *The indifferency they have to every thing: when we speak to them, says he, of the creation of the world, or of the mysteries of the Christian Religion, they applaud all we say, but they never trouble themselves about it.* A second obstacle is, *That every nation has a peculiar language, and these tongues have little affinity one with another; so that some of them who live not ten leagues asunder, must use an interpreter to talk together.* Thirdly, *They are not fixed to a place, tarrying no longer in the villages, than till harvest is over, which is but a small time; all the rest of the year they pass in wars and hunting: then they carry all their families with them, and are absent eight or nine months; their children then forget all, and return to their former manner of living.* Fourthly, *Another obstacle is, the deceitful dealing of Christian Merchants, who never scruple at cheating or lying, to get the furs of the savages cheap. This, without doubt, causes an aversion from a Religion, which they see accompanied, by the professors of it, with so many artifices and cheats.* Fifthly, *Another obstacle to their conversion is, that most of them have several wives, which, in the northern parts, they change, as often as they please, and cannot conceive, how people can tie themselves indissolubly to one person. The last obstacle proceeds from their great superstition.* By these things we see how little success the *French* had, or hoped to have, in turning these natives to Christianity.

We have a larger and later account of *French* missionaries sent to propagate Christianity among the heathens, in the *Jesuits Letters*, printed at *Paris*, in ten volumes, the first of them in the year 1707, and the last in 1717, which having come lately to my hand,

by

by the favour of a friend, I shall make only a few remarks from them. These letters contain some improvements in geography, and large narratives of the voyages, sea-hazards, and dangers of the missionaries, with some account of the manners and customs of the people among whom they travelled, which I am not concerned to repeat ; nor do I find so much concerning the propagation of Christianity in them, as I expected. It is observable, that none of these missionaries ever put the *Sacred Scriptures* of the *Old and New Testaments* into the hands of their pretended profelytes, nor gave them any methodical instruction in the principles of the Christian Religion, which is absolutely necessary in order to make strangers and heathens good Christians ; and which has been done by others who laboured in that work in former ages, and also in later times, as by Mr. *Eliot*, and others, in *New-England* ; and by the *Danish* missionaries in *Malabar*, of whom afterward. There is indeed an account of great numbers baptized by the Jesuits ; as, that Father *Bouchet*, in the mission of *Madure*, baptized twenty thousand persons *. If this be fact, I know not ; but to baptize those, or the like numbers, mostly of adult persons, without previous instruction in the principles of the Christian Religion, is a preposterous method : they know no more of Christianity than Heathens, and upon the first temptation, will be ready to apostatize to their old errors.

The greater part of this collection consists of letters from the Jesuits, who are missionaries to *China*, of which, I do not pretend to give a particular detail, there being as much concerning missions to that country in the sequel of this chapter, as may suffice ; and we may be sure, the Jesuits will always give a favourable account of their own affairs. Thus, Father *Premare*, in his letter from *Canton*, of the 17th of *February*, 1699, says †, *The present emperor is most favourable to the Christian Religion ;*

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* Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 1. pag. 57.

† Ibidem, Recueil 2. pag. 105, 106.

gion; he says, it is the true law, and is pleased to know that any of his lords embrace it; and hopes the time is approaching, that God will give him grace to entertain it. Thus Father Noel, in the year 1703, represents *, That in the province of Nankin, they have more than one hundred Churches, and one hundred thousand Christians. In the ninth volume, there is a letter from Father Fartoux, dated at Pekin, the 20th of August, 1704, giving an account of a noble Church the Jesuits had got built in that city, within the precincts of the Emperor's palace. In the tenth volume, we have a Chinese inscription, by the Emperor's direction, to be engraven on that new temple, and an explication of it in French. In the beginning of the seventh volume, we have a pretty curious letter of Father Jean Paul Gozani, to Joseph Suarez Jesuit, translated from Portuguese. The letter bears date at Cai-fum-fou, the capital of the province of Honan in China, November 5th, 1704, where he makes a discovery of a synagogue of Jews in that place: but the criticisms of this Jesuit are not to be depended upon, since he acknowledges he had no skill in the Hebrew tongue †.

We have in these letters an affecting discourse concerning one Father Jean de Brito, who having converted the Prince Teriadeven, and persuaded him to abandon all his wives save one, which he did, tho' he had five wives, and a great number of concubines, one of which abandoned wives was niece to Ranganadadeven, sovereign Prince of Maravas; she, with some of the Bramines, made earnest application against the missionaries, and especially against Father Brito, who was taken and put to death, and a persecution raised against the Christians in that country in the year 1693 ||. We have another narrative of a persecution raised against the missionaries and their proselytes in Cochin-China in the

* Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 6. pag. 71.

† Ibidem, Recueil 7. pag. 4.

|| Ibidem, Recueil 2. Lettre 1.

the year 1700 *, and about the same time another persecution commenced against them in *Tanjaor* †. The missionaries, both there and in other places, write frequently and very pressingly for money to be remitted from *Europe* for their support. I confess, charity cannot be better employ'd, than for propagating Christianity, and supporting it among infidels; tho' I believe, Protestants will not be free to trust Jesuits with managing their charitable collections, lest they employ 'em to wrong purposes.

The *English* edition of the Jesuits letters in 1714, contains but a very few of them. I have sometimes from it, and sometimes from the *French* copy, given some other hints concerning things that offered in this and in the foregoing chapter, which I shall not here repeat. There is in this collection some very minute things, as the sea dangers, and dreadful tempest of the ship *Amphitrite*, having missionaries aboard, writ over and over again by different hands ||. There are also in this collection several letters from the Jesuits in the missions of *Madure*, *Aour*, *Tanjaor*, and *Carnate*, places situate in the great peninsula of the *Indies*, on this side the river *Ganges*; and also a few letters from their missions in some parts of the *Spanish* and *French* conquests in *America*: but no account of any missions to any part of *Africa*, except one in the fourth volume to *Ethiopia*, which did nothing to promote the *Romish Religion*, as has been already observed ‡. It seems the Jesuits think *Africa* too poor a soil for their missionaries; they like *China* better, where they may walk in their silks, be carried abroad in a *Palanquin*, and honoured as the Emperor's mathematicians. This is all I shall observe from this collection in ten volumes; they who are at leisure, may divert themselves with many more particulars, as the life and death

* *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, Recueil 1. pag. 78. & seq.

† *Ibidem*, Recueil 3. pag. 212, & seq.

|| Recueil 3, 8.

‡ Above, pag. 198.

death of Father *Verjus* a Jesuit, in volume eighth; a mission to the *Greek* church in the isles of the *Archipelago*, in volume tenth. But these not being to my present purpose, and lest this book should swell beyond my design, I pass them.

Thus we see, that tho' the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* were the first who sent missions abroad to convert the heathen, and do still pretend a sole right to it by the bull of Pope *Alexander VI.* yet the *French* have followed their example. Why should any nation in *Europe* be secluded from so good a work, which needs so many hands to advance it? Only 'tis to be wished, that they who are employed in it may be free from profaneness, superstition, and idolatry, that they may not obstruct so good a work; and that while they persuade the heathen to abandon Paganism, they do not debauch them with a blind devotion to Popish Idols, without any solid knowledge of the principles, or a practice conformable to the precepts of Christianity. But to go on with our history.

Among all the popish missions, those of the Jesuits in *China* have made the greatest noise in the world, and many authors have writ concerning them; some of which I have seen, and from them shall give a short account of these matters, so far as they concern the subject I am upon.

Among the first accounts of the missionaries sent by the church of *Rome* into *China*, is that of Father *Ricci*, the full title is at the foot of the page *. There we have a large narrative of the state of the country, and of the methods the missionaries took to promote Religion, of the hardships they endured, and their success. But *Le Comte's* memoirs being much later, I shall, to introduce this story, trace his footsteps a little.

Louis le Comte, a Jesuit, has given us curious memoirs and observations concerning *China*, in several letters published in *French*, and translated into *English* in 1698.

* De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas, susceptâ a Societate Jesu, ex L. Matthei Ricci, ejusdem Societatis MSS. lib. 5. Autore L. Nicolao Trigautio Belga, ex eadem Societate. Colonix 1617.

1698. The prefacer observes, that the Jesuits have adapted the systems of Religion which they teach to the *Chinese* according to the philosophy of *Confucius*, seldom teaching of *Christ's* crucifixion; yea, allowing them to worship their *Pagods*. *Le Comte* himself arrived at *Pekin* in *China*, February 8th, 1687, and staid in that kingdom several years. It is not my design to give a detail of his book, where he tells us, how he and other missionaries were received, of the houses, cities, and chief buildings of the *Chinese*; that at *Nankin* there be two millions of people, twice as many as at *Paris*. He also discourses of the soil, canals, rivers, and fruits of the country; of the magnificence, temper, wit, policy, and government of the people. But chiefly I shall observe what he remarks concerning the missionaries endeavours to propagate Christianity, with a few other things introductive thereto.

In his third letter he observes, the temples that the *Chinese* have for their idols are very fine and rich, but the missionaries durst not look at them for fear of offending the Christians. They have an observatory in *China*, with mathematical instruments. Father *Verbieft* a missionary had caused the old instruments to be pulled down, which yet we saw, says *Le Comte*, and put up new ones of a better contrivance, as *Spheres*, *Quadrants*, *Azimuths*, &c. The *Chinese* boast of 4000 years observations, but when the missionaries came into these parts, they could neither make a calendar, nor calculate eclipses, nor knew the cause of them; but when they saw an eclipse, said it was a great dragon going to swallow up the sun or moon, and with panick fear did fall to idolatrous worship. Father *Ferdinando Verbieft* a *Fleming*, was surveyor of the mathematicians, and gave directions for framing brass guns. The Emperor of *China* and the court looked on him as one of the wisest men of his age, and often conversed with him about Religion and Learning; he obtained a toleration for evangelic pastors, says our author, after they had been persecuted. He was indefatigable in religious affairs, and had taken care to settle our religion in the eastern

eastern parts of *Tartary*, in the remote places of *China*, and in the kingdom of *Kiovia*, so as nothing but his death could have hindered it. The Emperor and *Mandarins* at court wrote of his praises; his burial was sumptuous, sprinkled with holy water, and perfumed with incense.

In his fifth letter he says, the *Chinese* are so ancient, that it fares with them as with rivers whose source cannot be discovered. Their vulgar history is certainly false, for it computes 40000 years since the creation of the world, yet none of them dare question it: however, the Learned do not debate, but they might have had kings for about 4000 years. There have been twenty two different families of their princes, which have produced 236 Emperors. The grandchildren of *Noah* might penetrate even to this kingdom. *Fohi* first laid the foundation of their monarchy, and it was enlarged by policy and prudence rather than by force. They look on themselves as better than other men, saying, *The Chinese see with two eyes, others are blind*; but now, when they perceive the skill of the *Europeans* in clocks, watches, stuffs, mathematics, instruments of war and the like, they grant the *Europeans* are not so barbarous as they apprehended, *they see with one eye*. We need not wonder at this, since before *Navigation* opened a way for people from *Europe* to come among them, they had seen no body but rude *Tartars* and *Indians*. Their paint is better than ours, they wear silk, linnen, cotton, and cotton-linnen: their chief magnificence is in cabinets, tables, and varnished skreens, but have no looking-glasses, tapestry-hangings, nor wrought chairs; but abundance of *Porcelain*, or *China* ware. When their great men go abroad, they are carried in a Sedan or *Palanquin*, or upon officers shoulders, with *Umbrellas*, and other marks of dignity, escutcheons and titles of honour carried before them. When they go by water, they use large magnificent barges. When their Emperors appear abroad, which is seldom, they come with innumerable marks of respect and honour. Their government is wholly monarchical,

narchical, and knows nothing of the republic ; yet their laws oblige their king to use his power with discretion. He has a great number of forces, even in peace he may have 500,000 men, armed with scymitars and darts.

Le Comte, in his seventh letter, insists on the language, characters, and books of the *Chinese*. Their language has no affinity to any other, neither in sound nor pronunciation ; their words may be learned in a few hours, but it will take several years for a man to be able to speak their dialect. A doctor may be able to compose a book in it, and yet not to discourse therein. They frame variety of significations to words and sentences only by accent and tone, so as their language is a kind of music and harmony. Missionaries had better have laboured some time in the mines, says my author, than in learning it ; for it exercises not only the memory, but also the imagination and ear. If you have not the right tone, you may call a man a *Beast* when you would say *Sir*, the same word being common to both. They do not speak as they write ; in writing they use lively expressions, bold metaphors, succinct comparisons, and many sentences from the ancients. At the beginning of their monarchy they used hieroglyphics, and painted rather than wrote. They have 24000 letters, which many of themselves know not. Instead of a pen they use a pencil, and write very fair ; a letter ill cut is a great fault, and marring the sense. *Printing* is of great antiquity in *China*, they engrave their letters on wooden boards ; their paper is of the inner rind of the *Bambou* tree, they pass *Allom* on it, which makes it shine, yet it is not lasting, but subject to fretting : their binding is nice and curious.

As to their books, the first, says *Le Comte*, is the five books of *Moses*, of which the *Chinese* have very ancient copies. Their King *Hoamti* composed treatises of astronomy, arithmetic, and medicine. About 300 years after this, they made a collection of the ordinances and history of King *Yao* ; several additions were made

made to it 1776 years before *Christ*. Their third book is a series of *Odes* and *Poems*, composed under the third race of their kings. The fourth contains a history of several princes, their virtues and vices. The fifth treats of customs and ceremonies. Of all these they have libraries, but most of them were destroyed by the tyrannical order of one of their Emperors, 200 years before *Christ*: but the next age learned them from preserved copies, and their memories, and so restored most of them: but these new editions have many blemishes. Their principal author is *Confucius*, who, according to *Le Comte*, was born 483 years before *Christ*; he was a pregnant wit, and a great doctor. He said, *He was in the West, where the true Saint was to be found*. From this, and dreams of one of their Emperors concerning *Christ*, they had some enquiries about our Saviour, but got then no knowledge of him. *Confucius's* death was much lamented, and his memory is to this day very favourable. Tho' the *Chinese* be conceited of their learning, yet they have no skill in *Logic*, *Geometry*, *Medicine*, nor in several other sciences; but 'tis certain, that they had the use of *Gunpowder*, *Printing*, *Guns*, and the *Mariner's Compass*; yea, had tall ships and able sailors, long before the *Europeans* *.

I discoursed a little in the former chapter concerning the heathenish idolatry and superstition of the *Chinese* †. I now proceed from *Le Comte's* eleventh letter, directed to *Monf. Rouille* counsellor of state, and some following letters, to give account of the establishment and progress of the *Christian Religion* in *China*. The Emperor, among other things, objected to the missionaries, *If your Religion be the only way of Salvation, how comes China to have been ignorant of it these 1600 years?* In answer to this they alledged, *That the Gospel had been first preached to the Indians, of whom the Chinese are the chief, by St. Thomas, and that, by his preaching, the offers of the kingdom of heaven had been brought to China*. Which he endeavours to

* *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, pag. 129. Letter 8.

† Above, pag. 166.

to prove * from an ancient breviary in the church of *Malabar*, writ in *Chaldee*, and used in the office of *St. Thomas*. *Le Comte* tells another story, that in the seventh Century, a Catholic Patriarch in the *Indies* sent missionaries to *China* with good success, for which he alledges a marble monument, digged up near *Sigan* in the year 1625, ten foot long and six broad; on the top of it a large cross, and below a long discourse in *Chinese* and *Syriac* characters. The Emperor ordered the monument to be kept in a pagod or idol temple. The inscription lays down a short sum of the *Christian Religion*, and then adds, *In the reign of Taicoum, a wise and honoured prince, Olopomen coming from India after long travel by sea and land, at last arrived in China in the year 636. The Emperor conducted him to the palace, and encouraged him: Koo the son of Taicoum endeavoured to make that Religion flourish which his Father had received, he built Churches, but the Bonzes raised a persecution; yet some persons of extraordinary zeal defended it. A succeeding Emperor, in the year 757, erected five churches; the following Emperors confirmed Christianity by their example and edicts, and others exercised works of great charity. To keep up the memory of these great actions, and to let posterity know the present state of the Christian Religion here, we have erected this monument in the year of our Lord 782. The Bonzes set up another pillar over against it, to diminish the glory of the Christian Religion; but when the Jesuit missionaries came into the country, they found no sign nor footstep thereof.*

In the year 1552, *St. Xavier*, as *Le Comte* calls him, came into *China*, in hopes to add that empire to the kingdom of Christ; but he died, when his labours seemed to have probability of success. *Le Comte* compares his burial (in my opinion foolishly) to that of *Moses*, and yet says, a *Portuguese* vessel found his monument in the year 1686, in the isle of *Samian*, which others call *Sancyon*, with this inscription, *Here Xavier, a man truly apostolical, was buried. Three Italians as-*
sisted

* *Le Comte's Memoirs*, pag. 342.

sisted *Xavier*, viz. *Roger*, *Pasio*, and *Ricci*. The novelty of their doctrine brought them auditors, and the sanctity of their lives made the people, says my author, in love with them. Father *Ricci* had studied long the *Chinese* language and customs at *Macao*, he spoke it fluently, and wrote pleasantly. These missionaries had the superstition and jealousy of the *Bonzes*, the people's humours, and the power of the *Mandarins* to deal with, yet they persevered. *Ricci* had very great success; some of the *Mandarins* opened their eyes to the Gospel; the Emperor *Vanli* received them with great respect, he bought a house at *Pekin*, and gained such a foundation there, as has since been the support of all the missions to that empire. Court and country re-founded the glorious name of *Jehovah*; but the *Bonzes* stirred up a persecution. The *Portuguese* of *Macao* incensed against the Jesuits, resolved to destroy them in *China*, saying, *That by the assistance of the Japanese and Hollanders, the Christians resolved to seize their country.* Upon this Father *Martinez* was taken, imprisoned, and bastinadoed, till at length he died. A *Mandarin*, who was a friend to Father *Ricci*, stopped the accusation from going to court against him, and he died in peace, pressing by letters to *Europe*, that more missionaries might be sent. The Christians in *China* were shaken by his fall. A tempest arose against them in the year 1615. *Chinkin*, one of the *Mandarins* in the city of *Nankin*, set upon the pastors, some were beaten, others banished, almost all who remained imprisoned. This storm lasted six years; at last their persecutor is accused, and deprived of his office and life. About this time the *Dominicans*, says my author, joined us, particularly *Adam Sbaal* a German, a person well skilled in the *Mathematics*, by which he gained the Emperor's favour. Christianity suffered a shock by the inundation of *Tartars*; yet Father *Sbaal* got favour with these *Barbarians*, and some persons of the best quality were baptized. *Faber* a Frenchman laboured successfully: a plague of *Locusts* prevailing in the country, he promised, *If the people would submit to Christianity, they should*

should be free of the Locusts: the Father went to the highway in his surplice, sprinkling holy water, and using prayers, and, says *Le Comte*, the plague ceased. The people relapsed into *Heathenism*, but upon their confession, he performed the miracle a second time. *Christianity* was settled at *Hamchun*, and flourished at *Pekin*, where the Emperor did not seem far from it, making several visits to Father *Sbaal*, but a concubine turned away that prince's heart to idols; he and his concubine died soon after. The four *Mandarins* who governed during the Emperor's minority, imprisoned the missionaries, and brought Religion in *China* within a hair's-breadth of destruction. The young Emperor favoured the Christians; Father *Verbieft* had great interest at court, being president of the *Mathematics*. The Emperor caused to be built a *Mausoleum* for the deceased Father *Adam Sbaal*, adorned with marble figures. Some of the Order of *St. Francis* and *St. Augustine* entered on the work of propagating Christianity in that kingdom. Upon the rebellion of *Ousangney*, the Emperor employed Father *Verbieft* to direct the making of great brass guns, light for carriage, which he with some ceremony ordered to be done, and this procured him the esteem of that prince. The bishop of *Helio- polis*, with some other ecclesiastics, set sail for *China*, but were put into *Mexico*, and returned to *France*; yet after some time they proceeded in their voyage, and arrived at *China*, to perform their mission, where the bishop soon died. *Monf. Argolis* an *Italian*, had the title of *Vicar Apostolical* for that country from the Pope. *Monf. Maigrot* and *Monf. Pin* had the same dignity. The King of *France* sent *Le Comte* our author, and his three companions thither; yet still they want more missionaries for so large an empire.

Our author, in his letter to Father *de la Chaise*, speaks of the manner how missionaries preach the Gospel in *China*. He says, that Father *Gerbillion* helped to transact the peace with the *Muscovites*; that the Fathers *Fontenay*, *Videlaux*, and himself, took care of the churches in *Nankin* and *Xenfi*; they took care to con-
old

old converts, and gain new ones, and left some books with them. Here allow me to remark, that these missionaries never gave their converts a copy of the bible in the *Chinese* language. *Le Comte* seems not fond of it *; and one may easily observe among all the Popish Missionaries thro' the world, tho' they boast of great numbers of people they baptize and convert, yet they never say their proselytes had read the *Holy Scriptures*, or understood these sacred writings; nor does it agree to the principles of their church to allow the use of that book to the vulgar. Now, without this, how can a stranger understand the principles of Christianity? No wonder these people relapse into *Infidelity*, when they never knew the foundation of the Christian Religion, nor were ever right instructed in the Faith. We may hear more of the detestable ways of the Jesuits in *China* afterward. Mean time to return to *Le Comte*, he says, the *Chinese* are affectionate, and like things magnificent, as processions, ringing of bells, medals, reliques, crosses, &c. the women have churches distinct from the men. I cannot easily reconcile this with what I read in the Jesuits Travels †, where it is said, the *Chinese ladies* never go out of their houses, nor receive visits from men; and therefore the missionaries cannot instruct them. But to proceed, *Le Comte* adds, the missionaries have but small subsistence, and are exposed to hardships in their travels; they have above two hundred churches and chapels dedicated to the true God; *Pekin*, *Nankin*, and *Macao* have each a particular Bishop, by nomination of the King of *Portugal*: but what signifies a few labourers in so large a vineyard? In his letter to Cardinal *Jansen*, we have an account of the *Mandarins* persecuting the Christians, upon a decree published in *China* in the year of our Lord 1669, prohibiting them to build any churches, or teach in public or private the European law, or administer baptism to the *Chinese*, or distribute medals, chaplets, crucifixes, or the like. Nevertheless, the Missionaries ventured, having a connivance at

Pekin,

* *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, pag. 384, 385.

† *Jesuits Travels, English Edition*, pag. 184.

Pekin, under the Emperor's nose: but the decree being still in force, the Viceroy prohibited the exercise of the Christian Religion, *August* 1691. Father *Gerbillon* procured a letter from Prince *Sofan*, to the Viceroy, in favour of the Christians: but this did not stop the persecution at *Hamcheou*, where a zealous Christian Physician was almost put to death, and others suffered great hardships. The Father's at court addressed the Emperor, who favoured them, and drew their petition; but the court of rites rejected it, which threw them into great grief: yet the Emperor, on the intercession of Prince *Sofan*, wrote a letter in their favour, to the *Mandarins*; which procured them some liberty for the exercise of their religion in *China*, in the year 1692. So far from *Le Comte's* Memoirs.

In Father *Avril's Travels*, done into *English*, and printed in the year 1713, I find, that Father *Verbieft* having desired more Missionaries to be sent over land, thro' *Tartary* to *China*, because of six hundred, who had taken shipping for that country, scarce one hundred arrived. In answer to this request, the King of *France* sent the Fathers *Avril* and *Barnaby*, to try the way to *China* by land; but they not being able to obtain the necessary passports at *Moscow*, were obliged to return home. *Barnaby* died by the way; *Avril* returned, and wrote an account of his travels, where there are many curious things, for information of any who designs to go that road: but since they concern not my present purpose, I pass them.

But we have information of the affairs of the Popish Missionaries in *China*, of a later date than those of Monseignior *le Comte*: Particularly in a book, entitled, *Memoirs for Rome, concerning the state of the Christian Religion in China*, printed at *London*, 1710; where the first Memoir informs us, that Pope *Clement XI.* as soon as he was promoted to the throne, sent *M. Charles de Tournon* to *China*, as the fittest man he could make choice of, to redress disorders there; he created him Patriarch of *Antioch*, and intrusted him with ample powers. He arrived at *Ponti Chierri*, on th

coast of *Coromandel*, in *November 1703*, and lodged with the *Jesuits*. During his stay there, he found the *Jesuits* in those parts involved in the turpitude of heathenish superstitions: one example may excite horror. The heathens there, blinded by the devil, pay the same respect to a cow *, as formerly the *Egyptians* did, and look on it as a kind of Divinity; with great respect they gather up their excrements, dry them, beat them to powder, and temper them into a kind of paint, with which they make sundry figures on their foreheads. The *Jesuits* thought it not proper to deprive the *Indians* of this custom, even when they had reconciled them to the Christian Faith: They judged the ready expedient to make it lawful, was, to bless the excrement when dried, and beat into powder, as they used to do with ashes, at the beginning of Lent; with this precaution, they permitted these converts to besmear themselves with it as much as they pleased. The *Jesuits* undertook to defend this practice, saying, *if one meddle to oppose these customs, Christianity will be lost among the Indians.*

The Cardinal *Tournon* being satisfied with the truth of these facts, writ down their exorbitancy, and condemned them by a censure proportionable to their deserts, and used all gaining methods to reclaim the *Jesuits*, who defended them. He embarked and came to *Manille*, where having reformed some abuses, he proceeded in his voyage, and arrived at *Canton in China*, *April 1705*, where Father *Visdelau* a *Frenchman*, learned in the sciences of the *Chinese*, declared to him against the sentiments of the *Jesuits*, and candidly acknowledged they were in the wrong. When the Cardinal came to *Pekin*, he found the *Jesuits* building a new church, in room of the old one, and took occasion to forbid them to expose on their altar the picture with the inscription, *Adore the heavens*, which they had upon their old church; but they would not promise obedience. Tho' the Cardinal was admitted to great familiarity with the Emperor, yet the *Jesuits* ruined all his projects;

* See of this Doctrine of the *Bramans*, above, pag. 138.

projects ; they hindered M. *Abbé Sabino* from being sent with rich presents from the Emperor of *China* to the Pope : yea, got themselves exempt from the Cardinal's episcopal visitation. It was too evident at *Pekin*, that the Jesuits had entered on contracts in money, which could not be reconciled with the Gospel. With all their eloquence they could never excuse lending money at 25 or 27 *per cent.* from being criminal in religious men, who had made a vow of poverty to God, and ought to shew themselves patterns of disinterested integrity among the heathen. The discovery of this and other frauds, made the Cardinal hateful to them. It was still far worse, in what regarded the superstition and idolatries of the empire : It was no wonder the Jesuits had the ascendant over the Emperor's mind, since the system of religion which they taught, did flatter his Self-love and Repose : Self-love, by making him believe, that he always had the knowledge of the true God, whom the Christians adore, whom he always worshipped under the name of *Heaven*, a thing which he never dreamed of : And they flattered his Repose, by tolerating among the *Chinese*, the sacrifices offered to *Confucius* and their ancestors, over the whole empire, and that no alteration was to be made in those matters, tho' they turned Christians. This was rather to confirm heathens in idolatry, than to convert them to Christianity. However, the Jesuits insinuated themselves into the Emperor's favour, by petty services ; as keeping in order, and mending his watches, and pendulum clocks, tuning his harpsichords, making mathematical instruments, and almanacs, and directing how to frame great guns. The Cardinal soon perceived the danger would ensue, upon any dispute concerning religion, before such a prince, and therefore put it off.

After Cardinal *Tournon* had been seven months at *Pekin*, the Bishop of *Conon* arrived, and the Cardinal acquainted the Emperor of him. The day following, two *Mandarins* came from the Emperor, to demand of the Bishop, if he found any thing in the doctrine of *Confucius*, contrary to the Christian Religion. The Bi-

shop being juridically in question, thought himself obliged to make a profession of his faith, and therefore freely told them, *he discovered many things in the doctrine of Confucius, that were irreconcilable to the Christian Religion.* They urged him to specify the particulars: he said, *that would require a considerable time*; yet on the spot, he recited fifty passages; which was no hard matter for him to do, since in two volumes he had composed on the subject, he had made a collection of twenty thousand passages out of *Chinese* books, which demonstrated how far the religion of the *Chinese* was incompatible with the mysteries of the Christian Faith. He observed, *that the Chinese admitted nothing for a first Principle, but a substance that was not an intelligent Being, nor self-existent, and so contradicts the Christian Religion, which acknowledges the only Eternal God, who created Heaven and Earth of nothing, who made man, and the world for him to dwell in.* He observed also, *that sacrifices were to be offered to God only, and not, as the Chinese thought, to the Heavens, to the Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars, Mountains, Rivers, and the most unworthy Creatures.* The Mandarins were highly displeased, that the Bishop of *Conon* should find fault with the sacrifices which their Emperor offered, and got him declared ignorant of the *Chinese* learning, and which was worse, made him prisoner in the house of the Jesuits, where he was kept from converse with any *European*: and this was followed by a sentence of banishment, in *December 1706.* In the same *Memoirs*, page 38. we have a consolatory letter sent by the Cardinal *de Tournon* to the Bishop of *Conon*, to solace him under his sufferings. I find in another author*, whom we shall afterward have occasion to mention, *that the Cardinal himself was poisoned by the emissaries of the Jesuits at Macao, on the borders of China.*

If the anonymous author of the *Memoirs for Rome* seems to any no sufficient authority, I shall now offer, *The History of the Controversy concerning the Chinese Worship*, from an unquestionable author, *Lewis Elis Dupin*,

* *Popery against Christianity*, by *Parthenopæus Hereticus*, pag. 77.

Dupin, a popish historian of great knowledge and probity. He says *, “ That affair has depended long
 “ at *Rome*, between the *Jesuits* and the other Missiona-
 “ ries of *China* ; the former maintaining, that the
 “ worship which the *Chinese* paid to *Confucius*, and
 “ their ancestors, was purely civil, and might be al-
 “ lowed to converted *Chinese* : And the latter, on the
 “ contrary, believing this to be a part of their reli-
 “ gious worship, and consequently unlawful for *Chri-*
 “ stians. The Gospel was not carried to *China*, till
 “ after the year 1550, *St. Francis Xavier*, after having
 “ preached in *Japan*, took a resolution to go to *China*,
 “ but while he was on his way thither, he was taken
 “ ill in the isle *Sancyon*, where he died in 1552. In
 “ 1556, Father *Gaspar de la Croix*, a *Portuguese Do-*
 “ *minican*, found a way of entering *China*, and of ma-
 “ king Christians there. Father *Michael Roggieri*, and
 “ after him, Father *Matthew Ricci*, went there in
 “ 1580, and afterwards, some other *Dominicans* went
 “ and settled there. Father *Ricci* thought, that the
 “ most proper way of succeeding in the conversion of
 “ the *Chinese*, was to persuade them, that their reli-
 “ gion did not much differ from that of the Christians ;
 “ that it was the true God, whom they worshipped,
 “ under the name of *Tien* and *Xamti*, that is to say,
 “ *Heaven and the King on high* ; and, that since they
 “ worshipped the one true God, the worship which
 “ they paid to *Confucius* and their ancestors, was not
 “ idolatry, but a civil and political custom, which might
 “ be allowed to converted *Chinese*. Father *Ricci* dy-
 “ ing in 1610, Father *Longobardi*, who had been thir-
 “ teen years in that country, succeeded him. He
 “ had all along entertained doubts and scruples about
 “ the system of Father *Ricci*, and his doubts were in-
 “ creased, upon the notice, that Father *Pascio*, *Visi-*
 “ *tor-general*, gave him, that the Missionaries of *Ja-*
 “ *pan* did not approve the opinion of Father *Ricci*—
 “ The Jesuit Missionaries were divided upon the que-
 “ stion.

T 4

* Compendious History of the Church, Vol. IV. pag. 236. & seq.
 Cent. XVII. Chap. 22.—

" stion. *Longobardi* wrote a treatise, on purpose to
 " prove against the opinion of Father *Ricci*, that the
 " Chinese owned no other Deity but Heaven, and its ma-
 " terial virtue, which extended to all Beings. The Je-
 " suits of *Macao* acquiesced in his sentiments, and Fa-
 " ther *Palmeiro*, the new visitor, gave an order to the
 " Missionaries, not to employ the word *Xamti* any
 " more, to signify the true God—But the Missiona-
 " ries did not agree to it.—This dispute being
 " brought to *Rome*, in 1644, and the question being
 " proposed to the congregation *de Propaganda Fide*,
 " they resolved it, contrary to the mind of the Jesuits,
 " declaring, that worship was unlawful; and Pope
 " *Innocent X.* ordered by a decree, on the 12th of
 " *September*, 1645, That the resolutions of the congrega-
 " tion should be followed and observed by the Missionaries,
 " upon pain of excommunication." In 1656, Father
Martini, a Jesuit, proposed other demands to the con-
 gregation, laying open the facts after another manner;
 and upon that representation, the congregation ap-
 proved part of the worship of the Chinese, supposing the
 honours were purely civil, and that there was nothing
 superstitious in them. Pope *Alexander VI.* confirmed
 that declaration, by a decree, *March 23.* 1656*,
 without revoking the decree of *Innocent X.* The Je-
 suits taking advantage of this last resolution to persist in
 their practices, and pretending, that the first decree
 was tacitly revoked by this last; the *Dominicans* made
 their complaints of this, in 1661, to the congregation,
 who declared by their answer, of the 13th of *November*,
 that both resolutions did subsist, and were circumstan-
 ces differently represented; but this decision not termi-
 nating the disputes, Father *Navarette*, a *Dominican*,
 did, in 1674, propose to the congregation of the inqui-
 sition several doubts, relating to the worship of *Confu-*
cius, and the ancestors, and obtained favourable an-
 swers for prohibiting thereof. However, this did not
 put an end to the disputes between the *Dominican* and
 Jesuit Missionaries. In

* See the Decree at large, in the *Memoirs for Rome*, pag. 88,
 & seq.

In the Pontificate of *Innocent XI.* *M. Maigrot*, doctor of divinity in the faculty of *Paris*, and of the society of the *Sorbonne*, in the seminary of foreign missions, being consulted by the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Missionaries, upon the *Cartouches* exposed in the churches and chapels, on which these words are written, “ *This is the seat of the soul of Confucius; upon the term which the Christians ought to make use of, to express the Divine Majesty.*” After having maturely examined that affair, published his ordinance, on the 26th of March 1693, forbidding Christians to make use of the words *Tien* and *Xamti*, to signify the true God; to expose any *Cartouch* in the churches, with this inscription, *Kine Tien, worship the Heavens; to assist at the solemn sacrifices of Confucius, and the ancestors; to have in private houses Cartouches, with these words written upon them, This is the soul of such a one deceased; or to say, that the philosophy of the Chinese has nothing in it contrary to the Christian Law; and, that the worship which Confucius paid to spirits, is a political worship**. This ordinance of *M. Maigrot*, tho’ approved by the other Apostolical Vicars, and most of the Missionaries of *China*, yet not having been received by the Jesuits, he was obliged to write about it to the Pope, and to demand his judgment thereupon. His order was presented to the Pope, in 1696, with a petition, by which he referred himself to the Holy See, to ordain what it should please, as to the contents thereof; the affair was oppositely drawn up at *Rome*, where memoirs, instructions, and other writings, were presented to the congregation, on both sides. The matter was likewise handled in *France*, in *French* books. The superiors and directors of the seminary of foreign missions at *Paris*, wrote a letter to the Pope, in 1700, upon the question of the *Chinese* worship, and did make it public, that it might serve to answer some public writings in *France*, set forth by the Jesuits. At the same time they condemned some Propositions in *Father le Comte’s Memoirs of China*; viz. First, *that the people of China*

* See this Decree at large, in the *Memoirs for Rome*, pag. 171, & seq.

China had preserved the knowledge of the true God, for two thousand years, and worshipped him in such a manner, as might serve for an example and instruction, even to Christians. Secondly, that that people had sacrificed to the Creator, in the most ancient temple of the universe. Thirdly, that the purity of morality, the sanctity of manners, faith, the internal and external worship of the true God, priests, the sacrifices of the saints, men inspired by God, miracles, the spirit of religion, the purest charity, and the spirit of God, had been kept up among the Chinese, for above two thousand years. Fourthly, that no nation had ever more favours conferred upon it, than China had. Fifthly, that the Chinese is the same with the Christian Religion, in all its principles and fundamental points; that the ancient Chinese worshipped the same God that the Christians do, and acknowledged him, as well as they, for the God of Heaven and Earth. These propositions, and the books that contained them, having been laid before the faculty of divinity at Paris, on the 1st of July 1700, the faculty having examined and deliberated upon them, in several writings, censured the five propositions just now mentioned, by their decisions of the 18th of October, 1700.

In the mean while, the affair relating to the worship of the Chinese, was still preparing at Rome, and in fine, the congregation of the inquisition published a decree under Pope Clement XI. by which 'tis forbid to make use of the words Tien and Xamti, to express the true God by; to put Cartouches in the churches, with these words written upon them, Kine Tien, worship the Heavens, even with an explanation; to assist at the solemn sacrifices that are performed to Confucius, and the ancestors, or at less solemn oblations, either in churches or private houses; nor to suffer Cartouches in churches, on which are written these words, This is the seat of the soul of such an one. This is the sum of the decree of the congregation of the Inquisition, authorized by the Pope, November 20th, 1704. The Pope did not publish it at that time, but gave it to the *Sieur Charles de Tournon*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, afterwards named Cardinal, whom he sent legate

gate *à Latere* to the spot, to regulate affairs. This legate arriving in *China*, conferred with the missionaries, and made an order, by which he ordained the missionaries to declare, *that the sacrifices which the Chinese perform, are not agreeable to the Christian Law; that, in particular, those made to Confucius, and the ancestors, are unlawful for Christians; that the Cartouches of the dead ought not to be suffered; that they ought to maintain, that the Tien and Xamti are not the God of the Christians.* This order was given at *Nanquin*, the 25th of *January*, 1707. The Pope's decree given in 1704, was not published in *Europe*, till 1709. M. *de Tournon* published his *Mandamus* at *Nanquin*, and sent it to all the Bishops and Apostolical Vicars of *China*. At first all the missionaries submitted to it; but some time after, the Bishop of *Ascalon*, who received it first, appealed from it to the Holy See, and caused his act of appeal to be signified; the Bishop of *Macao* joined him: and twenty-four Jesuits did also throw in their appeal from the order of the 28th of *May*, 1707. They sent the Fathers *Barros* and *Beauvolier* to *Rome*, to sustain their appeal, and that of the Bishops. In the mean while, the Emperor of *China* being informed of what had passed, forbid all foreign missionaries to stay in his kingdom, unless they approved the *Chinese* ceremonies. He banished the Bishop of *Conon*, in particular, and some others, and caused the legate to be conveyed to *Macao*, with orders to keep him there, till such time as the Jesuit Fathers, who had been sent to *Europe*, were returned. He was kept there in close prison, where he died in 1710. When the Pope's decree was published in *Europe*, some did maintain, that it was only conditional, and supposed, that the facts were true, and that so it decided nothing: Thus far from *Dupin*.

Another author, who covers himself under the name of *Parthenopæus Hereticus* (but I am told, he is called Mr. *James Gordon*, who was several years among the Jesuits, and a father confessor in the year 1714, but came to *England*, and renounced Popery, and declared himself a Protestant in the year 1719) informs

us*, of the *Manresian Harangue*, *omnibus omnia*, or *omnia munda mundis*, to the clean all things are clean; which was first revealed to *Ignatius Loyola*, founder of the order of the Jesuits, in the monastery of *Manresa*, in the kingdom of *Valencia*. The design of it is altogether levelled against the Christian Religion, and framed with the greatest art and skill to promote atheism and ambition, and any thing but what is honest and good, by commanding their missionaries to preach and propagate the Gospel of Christ *à la mode*, as we may call it, or according to every person's inclination and disposition of mind. Many abominations, even of the modern church of *Rome*, are discovered by this author, in the book just now cited, and in another paper, entitled, *An account of the superstitious ceremonies, and wicked practices of the church of Rome, in the holy Week*; which lie not now in my road. But shall only observe with him, that by means of this *Manresian Harangue*, *Xavier* made surprizing and unexpected conversions, by espousing the different and various inclinations of all sorts of sinners, insinuating himself; and gaining their affections miraculously, by the good use he made of his *omnibus omnia*, *all things to all men*. Yea, all the *Romish* Apostles, viz. *Philip Neri*, *Francis of Sales*, *John Capistranus*, &c. have followed this method in propagating the Gospel.

The letter of Monseignior *Maigrot*, produced before the committee for examining the *Chinese* rites, signed by five Bishops, and seven superiors of religious orders, gives so clear a view of the wicked methods the Jesuits use in *China*, that I here insert it, as I find it in the author last recited †.

“ I Call, says M. *Maigrot*, the awful and tremendous
 “ I name of him, who is to judge me at the last day,
 “ as witness, that I shall neither assert nor report any
 “ thing in this letter, either for sway of party, private
 “ interest, or animosity; but only for the honour and
 “ glory

* Popery against Christianity, by *Parthenopaus Hereticus*, Preface, and pag. 20, & seq. † *Parthenopaus Hereticus*, pag. 70, & seq.

“ glory of the Almighty, and the greater progress of
 “ the true Orthodox Faith. The impudence and im-
 “ purity of the Jesuits morals, scandalously vicious
 “ and prophane, has brought the people of this coun-
 “ try, first to a dislike of Christ crucified, then to a
 “ contempt, and at last to a bare-faced and open re-
 “ nouncing of him. The first rise of this immorality
 “ is owing to their unbounded ambition, and worldly
 “ inclinations, which are become so violent and impe-
 “ tuous, that they bear down all opposition, whether
 “ made by honour, prudence or religion, by openly
 “ and licentiously reviling the self-abasing and self-
 “ crucifying doctrines of the Gospel, and by breaking
 “ thro’ the fear of God, and remonstrances of their
 “ own consciences: They deny the very Being of a
 “ Deity, and the difference betwixt moral good and
 “ evil; and have made a sacrifice of all that’s good,
 “ to the idol of avarice. Hence arises the obstinate
 “ warfare betwixt them and the true preachers of the
 “ Word of God; for the zeal of many a good and
 “ pious priest has testified and remonstrated against the
 “ inroads of their idolatrous and sinful practices, espe-
 “ cially against the adoring the material heavens, and
 “ *Confucius*. Thus, like people who do not like to re-
 “ tain God in their hearts, they set themselves against
 “ every thing that is on his side, and against that very
 “ light of their own minds, which contradicts such im-
 “ pious proceedings; till at last, by a perverse tem-
 “ per, a reprobate conscience, and a distorted judg-
 “ ment, triumphing and carrying every thing at their
 “ pleasure, they seem, as it were, equipped with the
 “ armour of darkness; I mean, the whole mighty
 “ power of an idolatrous emperor, to oppose the pro-
 “ pagating of the Gospel. They have made him to
 “ impose an oath upon all those that design to remain
 “ in his dominions, of worshipping *Confucius*, of sacri-
 “ ficing to the domestic Gods or *Manes*, of invoca-
 “ ting the material heavens, and in a word, of symbo-
 “ lizing with these heathens in every act of idolatry,
 “ and of obeying the Emperor, as well in ecclesiastic

“ as in civil affairs, by openly acknowledging all
 “ the Pope’s decrees to be of no value, unless con-
 “ firmed by his authority. All which the Jesuits
 “ make use of to maintain their authority and vast
 “ riches, to make creatures, support friends, to esta-
 “ blish alliances with other whores of *Babylon*, I mean
 “ with other monks and friars, who prostitute them-
 “ selves to pride and avarice as they do, to break and
 “ form parties, and to pursue and promote the arts of
 “ a diabolical policy, which they shelter under the
 “ wings of heathenish authority. To ingratiate them-
 “ selves with the emperor, which is their principal
 “ drift, they make no difficulty to consecrate the ba-
 “ sest of means. Thus they have freed their whole
 “ society from the jurisdiction of Bishops, the Empe-
 “ ror not suffering them to be liable to any punish-
 “ ment, but such as their superior shall think fit to
 “ lay upon them ; which is seldom suitable to their e-
 “ normous transgressions, unless in the case of *Schism*
 “ from their idolatrous tenets ; and in this, their jea-
 “ lousy makes them very severe against all those of
 “ their own order, who have so much remaining ho-
 “ nesty, or religion left them, as to preach the Word
 “ of God. Now, having purchased ease, riches, and
 “ impunity, such as are poor, guilty or ambitious,
 “ enter their fellowship, which frees them from pre-
 “ sent want, and fear of punishment for former of-
 “ fences, how capital soever ; and these being for the
 “ most part of the choicest natural abilities, soon learn
 “ the skill of carrying on the work of darkness with
 “ great prosperity, and do not only make use of such
 “ idolatries and profitable errors as their forefathers
 “ left them, but bring in new ones of their own con-
 “ triving, gilding them with the splendid titles of
 “ things necessary for propagating the Gospel in *China*.
 “ From such doctrines, and the union of such people
 “ together, proceeds so great softness and pravity of
 “ manners, that their houses are become sinks of glut-
 “ tony, filth, and unnatural impurity ; and their re-
 “ treats are places that nourish men in sloth, and in a
 “ fort

“ sort of Life that shrouds, under the veil of austerity,
 “ and vow of chastity, the greatest debaucheries, and
 “ most execrable lusts. The cloud of ignorance,
 “ which for a long time has covered the face of *Chri-*
 “ *stianity* in this part of the world, has been a great
 “ help to keep their juggling undiscovered: for, as
 “ they with great policy obtained from the Emperor in
 “ the beginning, that all things concerning the *Chri-*
 “ *stian Religion* should pass thro’ their hands, so they
 “ had opportunities to make all books and records
 “ speak in their favour; which being manuscripts,
 “ and so but in few hands, it was no hard matter for
 “ the Jesuits to corrupt, who were for many years,
 “ even by the Popes, entrusted with the whole care of
 “ *Christianity* here; ’till *Urban VIII.* in the year 1640,
 “ was pleased, at the request of the zealous Cardinals,
 “ to send Bishops and Apostolical Vicars to this coun-
 “ try, whom the Jesuits most furiously persecuted in
 “ the beginning, and to whom to this very day they
 “ bear an implacable grudge. At which I do not
 “ wonder in the least: I should rather wonder were
 “ it otherwise; for being the slaves of ambition,
 “ they were afraid lest Bishops, who are undoubt-
 “ edly their superiors, should by visiting their col-
 “ leges, discover their unconceivable abominations,
 “ and so lessen their credit. Therefore, they have ob-
 “ tained lately from the Emperor orders to all the
 “ *Mandarins*, for the crushing and overthrowing the
 “ zeal and overforwardness of the prelates in proceed-
 “ ing against them. To effectuate this, no stone is
 “ left unturned, no means untried, that art, tyranny,
 “ and ambition can suggest; for they keep always the
 “ Fathers *Gerbillon* and *Bovet* at the Emperor’s court
 “ at *Pekin* as their agents. But when such arts will
 “ not do, and their intreaties, intrigues, and strata-
 “ gems miscarry, then they boldly take off the mask,
 “ and strike home, by impiously and boldly asserting,
 “ *That the Gospel must be preached in China, and the*
 “ *missionaries live in the manner and form that the Em-*
 “ *peror commands, who is the head of the Literati; and*

“ aver, *They’ll rather set all Christendom in confusion,*
 “ *than suffer their idolatries to be struck at, or the sub-*
 “ *version of their grandeur attempted.* All this, and
 “ much more Father *Gerbillon* has told me very often,
 “ and has threatned me and all my followers with the
 “ persecutions of the Pagan Emperors against Chri-
 “ stians, if I should question the truth of their doc-
 “ trines. I conclude, their laughing at the Gospel,
 “ their burlesquing true piety, their mocking at popes
 “ and councils, and jesting at the awful concerns of a
 “ future life, are become as common as eating and
 “ drinking among them. Thus, having laid before
 “ your Eminencies some of the most trodden paths of
 “ the Jesuits proceedings in *China*, which are the quin-
 “ tessence of *Atheism*, *Infidelity*, and all other wicked-
 “ ness; I leave it to your serious consideration, hea-
 “ venly prudence, and undaunted courage, to think
 “ upon the necessary means of censuring the faults,
 “ chastising the dissolute, and casting out the incor-
 “ rigible. ’Till this be done, the papal authority,
 “ and that of the Church of *Christ* will remain inglo-
 “ rious over all the world; for, as *Anathemas* have
 “ been the foundation of the papal greatness, so they
 “ are the pillars of it now that ’tis raised.”

I am,

With the most profound Respect,

Pekin, August
18th, 1700.

your Eminencies most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

MAIGROT.

Tho’ all this was produced, and the base, irreligious, pagan, idolatrous practices of the Jesuits further manifested by the *Liturgy* of *Matthew Ricci* a Jesuit, who entred *China*, *December 2. 1552*; yet the Pope did not immediately, by a solemn decree, condemn these impieties, only *Cardinal de Tournon* was sent into *China* to condemn them there. The forming of the decree that was sent with him was of such importance, as puzzled them all, since it was to be worded in so ambiguous and captious terms, as might seem to condemn

their idolatries in *China*, without the least suspicion of censure against those practised at *Rome*; between which there is so great an analogy, *That*, as Father *Ceva* observes *, 'tis altogether impossible to condemn the Chinese rites, without anathematizing, at the very same time, the very fundamental articles of the *Romish Religion*. When Cardinal *Tournon* published his decree against the *Jesuits* in *China*, they found methods to get him banished, and afterwards poisoned at *Macao*, as has been before observed. When this news came to *Rome*, the Pope was exceedingly displeased with the *Jesuits*, and threatned them with ruin, citing them to answer before the *Court of Inquisition*. *Tamburini* their General went to *Tivoli*, and wrote a letter to the Pope, which represents the tricks, knavery, treachery, yea, may I say massacres and butcheries practised by the *Jesuits*, from the first foundation of their Order in 1537, to the present time, for aggrandizing the See of *Rome*, with a threatning of open war against *Clement XI.* if he would not desist from persecuting them †. This letter, with the military eloquence of Count *Thaun*, who, as he was marching to invade *Naples*, entred *Rome* with 500 horse, and among other things told his Holiness ‡, *That the Emperor Joseph would stand by the Jesuits*; so terrified the Pope, as he sent immediately *Monf. Oliveri* and *Don Hannibal Albani*, two of his nephews, who have both since been made Cardinals, to treat and conclude an agreement with the General of the *Jesuits*, who was at *Tivoli*: who, by the mediation of the imperial ambassador, patched up a treaty as infamous and dishonourable to the Pope, as it was favourable and advantageous to the *Jesuits*. By virtue thereof, *The Pope was bound to confirm all the privileges and immunities of the Jesuits, to give Cardinal Tournon's Cap to Father Ptolomei of their Order, to canonize Stanislaus Cozha, to beatify Father Regis, and to leave the affairs of China as they were*

* Popery against Christianity, by *Parthenopæus Hereticus*, pag. 138.

† See this Letter at large, *ibid.* pag. 236, & seq.

‡ *Ibidem*, pag. 254.

were in the year 1700; by declaring, That Cardinal Tournon was rash and inconsiderate in his proceedings, and had gone beyond his commission. And lastly, to condemn the Jansenists. The Jesuits, on their side, were obliged to assist his Holiness, as they had done his predecessors, by not standing at any thing which might propagate the jurisdiction and authority of the Holy See, and to procure the ruin and destruction of heresy in all the kingdoms of the world; but especially in England, by encreasing their emissaries to the number of 160. Thus the great zeal of the court of Rome to condemn and reform the Heathenish Rites of the Jesuits in China, dwindled into nothing.

I may also observe, that Philip Couplet a Jesuit, who was for a long time a missionary in China, returned from that country, and made a discourse to the society for propagating the Faith at Rome, in the year 1681. His speech is too long to be here inserted: I have noticed at the foot of the page, where the curious may find it *. The scope thereof is, *That the propagation of Christianity by the Jesuits in China, at present depends upon an uncertain slippery foundation, viz. The regard which the Emperor hath to them for their skill in mathematics and astronomy. And he affirms, That 'tis impossible to teach the Chinese the Latin tongue, or to make them understand divine offices in that language, because of the certain peculiar idiom, accent, and pronunciation of the Chinese tongue incommunicable to the Latin; and that therefore 'tis most necessary, that the Pope and Court of Rome should allow divine offices to be performed in the language of the country, and persons to be trained and educated for it, without which Christianity can never be propagated there. How far this is agreeable to the council of Trent, and the doctrine of the church of Rome, I leave to others to judge: but 'tis certain, the Apostles, who first propagated the Gospel thro' the world, had the gift of tongues, and spoke to every one in their own language. And the popish missionaries can never have real success among infidels, who*
will

* In Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica, Classis quinta, Fasciculus primus, printed at Amsterdam 1721. pag. 607, ad 638.

will not allow them the Scriptures, nor divine offices in their native tongue. The reason why *Mahometanism* spreads further in the *East-Indies* than *Popish Christianity*, is, that the *Mahometans* allow their *Alcoran* and their offices to be performed in a tongue known to the people, which the *Papists* do not with their sacred offices ; and so don't teach the people Christianity, but what strange inventions they please.

What I have already represented from unquestionable authors concerning the popish missionaries in *China*, and particularly, that, according to the doctrine of their church, they do not allow the people the Scriptures in their native language, makes me to give the more credit to what I read in Mr. *Fleming's* *Christology* *. He says, that a worthy gentleman, who had lived long in *China*, told him, that the Jesuit missionaries were heard to harangue, after this manner, to a considerable auditory in *Chinese* : “ Ye have had many very
 “ great, wise, and excellent Emperors here in *China*,
 “ and no nation can boast of the like ; but yet none of
 “ these, nor indeed all of them, can be compared to
 “ the eternal Emperor *Jesus Christ*. That ye may
 “ know this; I will now give a short, but true and
 “ exact account of him. The world being very wicked,
 “ and men very miserable, by reason of the tyranny
 “ of those kings and princes that ruled before his coming,
 “ especially the head of all these, the Emperor of
 “ *Rome*, who reigned over the greatest part of the
 “ world at that time, with terrible rigour and cruelty;
 “ God took pity upon mankind at last, as finding
 “ their state grow worse and worse. To rectify this,
 “ he resolves to send his own son from heaven to subdue
 “ these tyrants, and reduce things to order again.
 “ Well ! at length the heavens appear more glorious
 “ than ever before, a wonderful Light, bright and glorious,
 “ that outshone the sun by ten thousand degrees,
 “ breaks forth. Great noises are heard in the air,
 “ with most wonderful and delightful music, and at
 “ length a prodigious army of more than a thousand
 “ thousand

“ thousand millions of Angels appears in sight ; before
 “ whom marches a chariot of a prodigious bigness,
 “ all of solid gold, most curiously wrought, but so
 “ thick set with precious stones, that the gold could
 “ hardly be seen for their sparkling and dazzling splendour. This chariot was drawn by ten thousand
 “ bright and nimble spirits, and a hundred thousand of
 “ a nobler rank guarded this chariot before and on
 “ either side, being commanded and led by *Raphael* the
 “ Archangel, as the rest of the army that followed the
 “ chariot was by the Great *Michael*, the first of all the
 “ Archangels, and Lieutenant-General to *Christ* himself,
 “ who rode in his golden chariot, and commanded all.
 “ Now, *says the Jesuit*, here all language fails me in setting forth the glory of this great general ; he was of a
 “ most prodigious stature, as big as a thousand men, but
 “ most wonderfully beautiful and exactly symmetred.
 “ His face outshone the sun so far in splendour, as is
 “ beyond all conception ; he had a prodigious flaming
 “ sword in his left hand, the very sight of which was
 “ terrible ; but in his right hand he had the ensign of
 “ the *Cross*, which had a sanative virtue in it, to remove distempers, and cheer the heart, to recover
 “ the frenzical and distracted, to raise the dead ; and
 “ in a word, to work all manner of miracles, to remove mountains, dry up seas, &c. Now, *says he*,
 “ all tyrants and wicked men were convicted and
 “ punished by him, and the *Roman Empire* destroyed.
 “ In the stead of which, he raised up one *Peter*, a
 “ most eminently holy and excellent person, to rule
 “ the whole world for him as his vicegerent. He destroyed not only the empire of *Rome*, but the name
 “ of Emperor, and the very form of that government ; and in its stead, he erected a holy constitution, over which he set this wise and holy man
 “ *Peter*, ordering, that when he should be called out
 “ of the world into heaven, that his chief priests should
 “ come together and pray to him, and that upon their
 “ so doing, he would send them an Angel to tell them
 “ what person he had pitched upon to succeed in this
 “ sacred

“ sacred and universal headship over the world. And
 “ when he had done this, he took his leave of *Peter*
 “ and his bishops, and went to heaven with his army,
 “ in the same glorious and triumphant manner in which
 “ he came. But he assured the Viceroy *Peter*, that as
 “ often as he desired, he should hear from him by a
 “ special messenger, who should assist him in all dark
 “ cases, and affairs of consequence. And he never
 “ failed to do so to *Peter*, and all his successors the
 “ Popes. So that, *says the Priest*, the Pope that now is,
 “ has had frequent messengers from *Christ* in heaven,
 “ commanding him to send holy men to the great
 “ empire of *China*, out of the great love he has for that
 “ learned, wise, and excellent people, to invite them to
 “ leave their idolatrous priests and false worship, and
 “ own him and his viceroy the Pope. Now, I am
 “ one of these holy missionaries, *continues he*, and I
 “ assure you, that whosoever of you shall do as I shall
 “ direct, shall, when he dies, go into that glorious
 “ *Paradise*, where *Christ* is; and that I may know
 “ who have a mind to be thus happy, lo I have here
 “ a book given me by the Pope, by order of *Christ*
 “ himself, that I may mark down in it the names of
 “ all those that desire his favour: which I must from
 “ time to time send an account of to the Pope, that he
 “ may send it to *Christ* in heaven. And I assure you,
 “ that all those who refuse to have their names thus
 “ recorded, shall be destroyed at last in a most terri-
 “ ble manner. Come, therefore, and let me have all
 “ your names, but know, that every one that expects
 “ this favour, must give me his offering in money, ac-
 “ cording to his ability, that the sincerity of his heart
 “ may be known.” Thus far the priest and his ro-
 mances, which, as I am told, says my author, wrought
 upon a great many to his heart’s content. I have
 given the story as I found it. If the hearers of this
 missionary could, like the noble *Bereans*, *Acts* xvii. 11.
have searched the Scriptures whether these things were so,
 they would have soon found out their teacher to be a
 meer cheat and a vile deceiver, and abhorred him as

such ; but alas ! the poor *Chinese* knew nothing of the *Bible*. Whether the story be true or false, we may infer this from it, that no person should be trusted to teach strangers the *Christian Religion*, without giving their disciples the standard of the written Word of God to build upon ; far less should men of such a character, as even *M. Maigrot*, and other papists represent the missionary *Jesuits* in *China* to deserve, be trusted to lead men whom they pretend to convert, into such abominable delusions.

I had almost forgot one passage, which I find in *Monfieur Mont's Voyage to New France*, in the year 1603 *, where we read, *That the French in that country baptized the great Sagamo, or Prince of the Savages, that inhabited about Port Royal, his wife, and his two sons ; the Sagamo being honoured with the King of France's name, his wife with the Queen's, and his two sons, one with the Pope's, and the other with the Dauphin's. The spirit of Popery was got into this Savage King by that time he was baptized ; he was no sooner out of the font almost, but he threatned his Savage neighbours with fire and sword, if they did not follow his example, and become Christians as well as he. His spiritual fathers should have instructed him, that this was the way to make these Barbarians afraid of Christianity, but not to fall in love with it.*

I have now done with the endeavours of the church of *Rome*, to propagate Christianity among the *Heathens* over the world. If we may judge of their practices by what we have observed of the *Jesuits* in *China*, we may see, that they rather cloak *Heathenish Idolatry*, than promote *True Christianity*.

Before I enter upon what the *Protestants* have done for *Propagation of Christianity*, I may observe that *Dr. Leonhart Rawolf* travelled into the eastern countries from the year 1573 to 1576. He published his travels in *High Dutch*, and they are translated into *English* by *John Ray*, fellow of the *Royal Society*. They contain many curious things concerning plants, and the state of these parts of the world. But there is only one

* *Harris's complete Collection of Travels*, Vol. I. pag. 815.

one passage I remark, as apposite to our present purpose, *viz.** that in *Persia* there are many *Christians* of the persuasion of *Prester-John*, whom they call *Amama*; the occasion whereof was, that about twelve years ago, (that's from the date of his travels) the King of *Persia* made a league with *Prester-John* against the *Turks*, who came so hard on him, that he was forced to seek help of strangers. One of the articles of the league was, *That the Persians should tolerate the Christian Religion that he professed.* Whereupon he sent him a patriarch and some priests, which had this effect, that now there are above 20 towns in *Persia* of the Religion of *Prester-John*; they have some books of the *Holy Scripture*, and *Epistles* of *St. Thomas*, whom they call *Alrish*. That these *Christians* may be discerned, they wear a *Cross* on the inside of their left leg, and give the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper* to young and old in both kinds; but before they go to it, they must have their feet washed, for this end there are little rivulets let thro' their churches, where they sit down, and some of the chiefest in the town wash their feet; when this is done, they give to one another a kiss of love, then they read the words of institution, and so receive. They do not make confession before partaking; they endure no images in their churches, but make use of harps, pipes, and other instruments for musick.

It is proper now to come to the history of what Protestants have done, for propagating Christianity, and overthrowing of Paganism over the world, in these last ages of the Church; where I shall consider what has been done by the *English*, by the *Dutch*, and by the *Danish* missionaries; and conclude this chapter with some good things a doing in other parts of the world, for advancing Christianity.

I begin with what has been done by the *English*. In Mr. Harris's *Complete Collection of Travels*, we have several narratives of the first *English* planters in *Virginia* †, and the several difficulties they had to struggle

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with.

* *Rawolf's Travels*, Part 2. chap. 8. pag. mihi 198.

† From pag. 815 — to 848. Vol. 1.

with. I find there only one passage that concerns the propagation of Christianity. The *English* made one *Abunta* their prisoner; she was the beloved daughter of *Powhatan*, an *Indian* King; she is commended, as a person of a better disposition than the rest of her country, and was well pleased with her life among the *English*; and by the care of *Sir Thomas Dale*, was thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, which, after some time, she made an open and solemn profession of, and was thought fit to be entered into the visible Church by baptism, which was accordingly administered to her *. After this, with her father and friends approbation, she was married to an *English* gentleman of the plantation, and came to *England* with her husband, in the year 1616; where she behaved like the daughter of a King, and was treated as such, not only by the *Virginia* company, but by all the nobility, who conversed with her. She intended to have returned to her native country, but being come to *Grave-send*, she died there, giving proofs of her sincerity in embracing the Christian Religion, and of a sound progress therein.

But we have a more large, valuable and refreshing information of the propagation of Christianity among the heathens in *New-England*; which may give us ground to glorify the name of our God, who sends the Redeemer's kingdom to these *Barbarians* afar off, and may afford hopes of great things that may be done by the joint endeavours of good men, who shall imitate so noble an example.

In my entry on this subject, I acknowledge, that I am obliged to the labours of the learned *Dr. Cotton Mather*, who has given us an ecclesiastic history of *New-England*, in *Folio*, from its first planting in the year 1620, to 1698, entitled, *Magnalia Christi Americana*.

That we may have some view of this colony, it is to be observed, that some *English* Nonconformists being burdened with persecution for not complying with superstitious

* Ibidem, Vol. 1, pag. 839.

stitious ceremonies in *England*, retired about the year 1602 to *Holland*, and erected a Church there, under the care of Mr. *John Robinson*; but finding *Holland* not for their health, nor for their purse, nor a place where they could promote Religion, and transmit it to posterity, after ten years stay they left it. Upon their supplication to King *James I.* of that name in *England*, they obtained a patent for erecting a colony in *America*, with liberty for the settlement of their Religion. The first undertakers embarked in *England*, and arrived at a place they called *New-Plymouth*, in *November* 1620. A greater number of persecuted *English* Nonconformists, arrived in the year 1629, in 198 ships. God prospered the colony wonderfully: for in less than fifty years, their number increased to more than 100,000 people.

But I am not to enlarge on the particulars of that colony, which those who desire, may see in Dr. *Mather's* history; only I shall give some account of the endeavours of some good men among them, to convert the heathen *Indians*; in which work, Mr. *John Eliot*, who came to *New-England* in the year 1632, was very laborious and successful. The natives of that country (says my author *) had been forlorn and wretched heathens, ever since their first herding there. Tho' we know not how or when these *Indians* first became inhabitants of this great continent, yet we may guess, that probably the devil decoyed these miserable savages hither, in hopes, that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ would never come to disturb his absolute Empire over them. But Mr. *Eliot* was in such ill terms with the devil, as to sound the trumpet of the Gospel in his territories, and to make zealous attempts for outing him of his ancient possessions. His exemplary charity will be the more conspicuous, if we consider the forlorn case the *Indians* were in; they are the ruins of mankind, to be found any where on the face of the earth; no such riches are to be expected among them, as have been the baits which the pretended converters of other countries have snapped at. One might see among
them,

* *Mather's History of New-England*, Book 3. pag. 190, & seq.

them, what a hard master the devil is to his most devoted vassals! they live in a country full of mines; we have already made entrance into one of iron; and in the very surface of the earth among us, it is thought there lies copper enough to supply all the world, besides other mines: but our shiftless *Indians* were never owners of so much as a knife, till we came among them; stone was instead of metal, for their tools; and for their coins, they have only little beads, with holes, to string them on a bracelet; six of the white ones go for a penny, and three of the black or blue; they call them *Trampan*, they're made of a fish-shell, which continually lies on the shore. These *Indians* live in a country where we have all the conveniencies of human life, but as for them, their houses are nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastned in the earth, where a good fire serves for bed-clothes; in coldest seasons, their cloathing is only the skin of a beast, covering their hind parts, their fore parts having a little apron, where nature calls for secrecy. Their diet has no greater dainty than *Nobeck*, that is, a spoonful of parched meal with water; they eat the flesh of deers, bears, moose, rackoons, and the like, and some fish, which they can only preserve by drying; for they had no salt till we gave it them. Their physic is nothing but a hot house, or a few specifics, or a Powaw. A crew of them run into their hot-house, sweat and smoke together, and then run into a cold brook without any mischief. In dangerous distempers, the Powaw or Priest, a noted conjurer, comes, roars and howls with magical ceremonies over the sick; if they don't cure, the man's time is come, there's an end of him. Tho' they live in a country full of the best ship timber, yet they never saw a ship, till some came from *Europe*; and then they were scared out of their wits, to see the monster sailing and spitting fire. They cross the water in canoes made of a tree, which they hollow, by burning and hewing; or they make one of barks knit together; if these overset, they swim and paddle like a dog, and are soon where they were. Their men are
abominably

abominably slothful, making their *Squaws* or wives plant, dress their barn, order their *Wigwams*, and do other pieces of husbandry, which perhaps is the reason of their ease in childbirth, while their husbands and sons go in troops to hunting, driving all before them. They divide their time by sleeps, moons, and winters: reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, tho' there is a rock or two in the country, on which are unaccountable engravings.

All the religion they have, amounts to this much; they believe there are many Gods, who made, and do own the several nations of the world, of which, a certain God in the South-west regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure; they believe, that every remarkable creature has a peculiar God within or about it; there is with them a Sun God, a Moon God, and they cannot conceive, but the Fire must be a kind of God, since a spark of it will produce strange effects. They believe, that when any good or evil happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of God expressed in it; hence, in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of ridiculous and extravagant devotions to their God; and in a time of prosperity, they have a feast to another. Finally, they believe their chief God *Rontanowit* made a man and a woman of a stone, which, on dislike, he brake into pieces; and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind. They also believe, we have in us immortal souls, which, if we are godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with *Kautanowit*; but if otherwise, shall wander about in a restless horror for ever: but they know nothing of the resurrection. At some occasions, after using diabolical rites, the devil appears to them, and informs them of circumstances and events, and uncouth things happen.

Mr. *Eliot* had a difficult work to civilize and christia-
nize such a barbarous people; he imagined they were
the posterity of the dispersed ten tribes of *Israel*: *I have
seen a book of his, giving the grounds of this conjecture;
but I pass it as very improbable.* The first step he judged
necessary,

necessary, was to learn the *Indian* language ; he hired a native to teach him this exotic dialect, and with laborious art and skill reduced it to the method of a grammar, which he afterwards published. There is a letter or two in our alphabet, which the *Indians* never had in theirs. The words are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar ; as *Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash*, which signifies no more than *our Lusts*, and so of others. There is no tongue in *Europe* it has the least affinity with. Mr. *Eliot* having furnished himself with the language, sets himself in the year 1646, to preach the Gospel among these desolate outcasts : his success may appear from a letter writ by *Increase Mather* to Dr. *Leusden* at *Utrecht*, whereof the sum follows.

“ It is above forty years since that truly godly
 “ man, Mr. *John Eliot*, pastor at the Church of *Rox-*
 “ *bury*, about a mile from *Boston* in *New-England*,
 “ being warmed with a holy zeal for converting the
 “ *Americans*, set himself to learn the *Indian* tongue,
 “ that he might more easily and successfully open to
 “ them the mysteries of the Gospel : upon the account
 “ of which, he has been called, *The Apostle of the*
 “ *American Indians*. This reverend person, not with-
 “ out great labour, translated the whole bible into the
 “ *Indian* language ; he translated also several *English*
 “ treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into the
 “ same tongue. Above 26 years ago he gathered a
 “ Church of converted *Indians* in a town called *Natik*,
 “ these *Indians* confessed their sins with tears, and pro-
 “ fessed their Faith in *Christ*, and afterward were
 “ baptized with their children, and solemnly joined
 “ together in a Church Covenant. The said Mr. *Eliot*
 “ was the first who administered the Lord’s Supper to
 “ them : an *Indian*, named *Daniel*, is now Pastor of
 “ that Church. Beside the Church of *Natik* among
 “ our inhabitants in *Massachusetts*’s colony, there are
 “ four *Indian* assemblies, where the name of the true
 “ God and of Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon.
 “ These assemblies have some *American* preachers ;
 “ Mr,

“ Mr. *Eliot* formerly used to preach to them once
“ every fortnight, but now he is weakned with labours,
“ and old age, being in his eighty fourth year, and
“ preaches only to the *Indians* once in two months.
“ There is another Church consisting only of con-
“ verted *Indians*, about fifty miles from hence, in an
“ *Indian* town called *Maschippaug*; their first Pastor
“ was an *English* man, skilled in their language, who
“ preached in it; now he is dead, and they have an
“ *Indian* preacher. *John Cotton*, Pastor of the Church
“ in *Plymouth*, skilful in the *Indian* tongue, preaches
“ to them every week. There are five assemblies of
“ *Indians* near *Maschippaug*, which have *Indian*
“ preachers. At *Saconet* in *Plymouth* colony, there is
“ a great congregation of those, who, for distinction’s
“ sake are called praying *Indians*, who pray to God in
“ *Christ*. Not far from a promontory called *Cape Cod*,
“ there are six assemblies of Heathens, who are to be
“ reckoned as *Catechumens*, among whom are six *In-*
“ *dian* preachers. *Samuel Treat*, Pastor of a church at
“ *Eastham*, preaches to these assemblies in their own
“ language. There is likewise among the Islanders of
“ *Nantuket* a church with a Pastor, who was lately a
“ Heathen; and several meetings of *Catechumens*, who
“ are instructed by the converted *Indians*. There is
“ also another island, about seven leagues long, called
“ *Martba’s Vineyard*, where are two *American* Churches
“ planted, more famous than the rest; over one of
“ these presides an ancient *Indian* Pastor, called *Hia-*
“ *combs*; his son also preaches the Gospel to his coun-
“ try-men. In another church in that place, *John*
“ *Tochoish* a converted *Indian* teaches: in these churches,
“ *Indian* ruling-elders are joined with the pastors; they
“ are chosen by the people with fasting and prayer.
“ Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* ordained them by imposi-
“ tion of hands. All the converted *Indians*, both *Ca-*
“ *techumens*, and those of the church order, meet to-
“ gether every Lord’s Day; the preacher begins with
“ prayer without a form, because from the heart;
“ when he has ended prayer, the whole congregation
praise

“ praise God, by singing of psalms ; some of them
 “ are excellent singers ; then he preaches from a text
 “ as the *English* do in *New-England*, by whom they
 “ have been taught ; and after another prayer, the
 “ service is concluded : thus they do twice every Lord’s
 “ Day. They observe no holy-days, but the Lord’s
 “ Day, except on extraordinary occasions, when they
 “ set apart the whole day for fasting or thanksgiving.
 “ Before the *English* came to these coasts, these barba-
 “ rous people were ignorant of the true God, and have
 “ yet no terms in their language, to express the my-
 “ steries of Religion ; and therefore, in their prayers
 “ and sermons, they use *English* words, as *Jehovah*,
 “ *God* or *Lord*, and other theological phrases borrowed
 “ from us. In short, there are six churches of bap-
 “ tized *Indians* in *New-England*, and eighteen assem-
 “ blies of *Catechumens*, who profess the name of Christ.
 “ There are twenty four *Indian* preachers of the Word
 “ of God, and three or four *English* ministers, who
 “ preach the Gospel in the *Indian* tongue. There are
 “ many of the *Indian* children, who have learned the
 “ *Catechism* by heart, either that of Mr. *Perkins*, or
 “ that of the Assembly at *Westminster*, and can answer
 “ every question in it, in their mother tongue.” Thus
 far, the letter dated at *Boston* in *New-England*, July
 12, 1687, signed *Increase Mather*.

The learned Dr. *Cotton Mather* adds, after writing of
 this letter *, there came into my hands one from the
 famous Dr. *Leusden*, where he informs me, that our
 example had awakened the *Dutch*, to make some noble
 attempts, for the furtherance of the Gospel in the *East-Indies*,
 beside what great things were done by the ex-
 cellent *Robert Junius* in *Formosa*, fifty years ago ; that
 in and near the island of *Ceylon*, the *Dutch* Pastors have
 baptized about three hundred thousand of the *Eastern*
Indians : for tho’ the ministers are utterly ignorant of
 their language, yet there are school-masters, who teach
 them the *Lord’s Prayer*, the *Ten Commandments*, a
Morning and *Evening Prayer*, a *Blessing* before, and

another

* History of *New-England*, Book 3. pag. 195.

another after meat ; and the minister in his visits being assured by the master, that they have learned these things, he presently baptizes them. But the pious reader may easily see, one of our converted *Indians*, says Dr. *Mather*, has cost more pains than many of theirs. More thorow work has been made with them. It appears also, that many of these Christians in *Ceylon*, have been made since the year 1679 ; for *Robert Knox* who staid twenty years there before that time, and carefully describes that island, met with very few of them *.

Because Dr. *Mather* gives as satisfying an account, as any author I have seen, of a religious care in converting the heathen, which is worth imitation of any who would successfully labour in that work ; I shall go a little further with him. He discourses † of the way of Mr. *Eliot's* preaching to the *Indians*, from *Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10*. Of his method of instructing them in the principles of Religion, by way of question and answer : of his procuring schools for them, where they profited so much, as many of them not only learned to read and write, but some of them also attained to liberal education in our colleges, yea, took degree of graduates. He took also care to translate the Bible into the *Indian* language ; a copy whereof I have seen in the library of the college of *Glasgow*. The principles of the church of *Rome* were hateful to him, for they keep this sacred treasure hid in an unknown tongue to the vulgar. He was most unlike the *Franciscan*, who writing to *Europe*, gloried how many thousand *Indians* he had converted ; but adds, *He desired his friends would send him the book called the Bible, for he had heard there was such a book in Europe, which might be of some use to him*. But our *Eliot* could not live without a Bible himself, and was careful to communicate it to the *Indians*, as the greatest honour they were ever partakers of. It is the only Bible that was ever printed in *America*, from the foundation of the world. A little *Indian* library quickly followed ; as

Catechisms,

* See above, pag. 169—172.

† History of *New-England*, Book 3. pag. 196.

Catechisms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and some others. The Indians having felt the impressions of his ministry, were called Praying Indians, and were for a more decent English way of living in fixed habitations. Natik was the place of the greatest name among their towns; here, in the year 1651, they, who had lived like wild beasts before, settled, by consent of the English, a form of civil government. Mr. Eliot, at a public fast, expounded to them Exodus xviii. and they chose rulers of hundreds, fifties, and tens, and entered into this covenant: We are the sons of Adam, we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins, but now the mercy of God designs to find us again. Therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give our selves and our children to God, to be his people; he shall rule us in all our affairs; the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us, and the wisdom of God that has taught us in his book, shall guide us. Ob Jehovah! teach us wisdom, send thy spirit into our hearts, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God. After this, they abandoned Polygamy, heretofore common among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness and sabbath-breaking, and established a church-order among them, as in the churches of New-England. How pleasant was it to hear them exhorting one another, from the Word of God, confessing their sins, and giving evidence of their Faith and Repentance! Mr. Eliot having a mission from the church of Roxbury, unto the work of the Lord Christ among the Indians, conceived himself sufficiently authorised to the performing of all that church work, conformable to Acts xiii. 1 — 4. and accordingly he administered first Baptism, and then the Supper of our Lord unto them.

Indeed the *Sachims* or the Princes of the *Indians*, and the *Powaws* or their clergy-men, did all they could to maintain the interest of *Satan's* kingdom, fearing lest Religion would abridge them of the tyranny they had been used to. This made their *Sachims* raise sometimes

a storm of persecution upon their vassals, that would call on the eternal God; yea, they raised an unjust and bloody war upon the *English*, which issued in their own speedy extirpation from the face of the earth. Sometimes the more immediate hand of God cutting off the principal opposers of the Gospel among the *Indians*, made way for Mr. *Eliot's* ministry, of which Dr. *Mather* gives several instances *.

Mr. *Eliot* had several fellow-labourers in this work, as in the year 1666, *Richard Boum* at *Maschippaug*, where many *Indians* gave signal proofs of their *Conversion*; *John Gibbs* at *Nantuket*, old Mr. *Mayhew*, and several of his sons and grandsons in *Martha's Vineyard*. There were, fifteen years ago, by computation, about fifteen hundred seals of their ministry in that one island. In *Connecticut*, the godly Mr. *Fitch* and Mr. *Pierson* have had good success. In *Massachusetts*, as we see at this day, the pious Mr. *Daniel Goukin* and Mr. *Peter Thatcher*, have been very industrious to turn these poor creatures from darkness to light, and from the service of satan to that of the living God. In *Plymouth*, Mr. *Samuel Treat* and Mr. *Tapper* use laudable endeavours; and particularly Mr. *John Cotton*, who has such skill and dexterity in the *Indian* tongue, as the second edition of the *Indian* bible is wholly of his correction and amendment: Beside others named in Mr. *Increase Mather's* letter abovementioned. A sketch of these converted *Indians* knowledge and piety may be seen in the same history of *New-England* †, in their sacred and solemn exercises: and of very surprizing questions they asked of their teachers, in *Hoornbeck de Conversione Indorum* ||.

If we compare what these Protestants in *New-England* have done, with the success of the Church of *Rome* in other places, we may observe a great difference.

* History of *New-England*, Book 3. pag. 201—203.

† Ibidem, Book 3. pag. 201—203.

|| Pag. m. 262. & seq.

rence. It is to be confessed, that the Papists have a very numerous clergy, little incumbered with secular affairs, and have the advantage of so great ecclesiastic revenues, as renders it easy to them to exceed the Protestants, in their endeavours to christianize Pagan savages ; nor would I reproach, but rather applaud their industry in this matter, wishing we were all touched with an emulation of it. Yet their clamours against the reformed Churches, obliges me, says Dr. Mather *, *to tax divers very scandalous things in the missions which they make pro Propaganda Fide, thro' the world: by an odd accident, lately fell into my hands, the manuscripts of a Jesuit, whom the French employed as a missionary among the Western Indians, in which papers, is a Catechism, containing the principles these Heathens are to be instructed in ; it is in the Iroquoise language, with a translation annexed, and some cases of conscience to direct their conversation. In the Catechism, they give odd notions of heaven, that it is a fair soil, where they want neither meat nor clothes ; that they do nothing ; the fields give corn, beans, pumpkins and the like, without tillage ; the trees are always green, full and flourishing ; the sun ever shines, the fruits are never wasted. Their notions of hell are as surprising ; that it is a wretched soil, a fiery pit in the centre of the earth, always dark ; the devils are ill-shaped things with vizards on to terrify men, they have nothing to drink there but melted lead ; that in hell they eat one another every day, but anon God restores the man that was eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time repullulates. Their resolves of cases of conscience are also surprising ; that a man is not obliged to pay hire to his whore if he be a Christian ; that if an Indian steal a hatchet from a Dutchman with whom he trades, he is not obliged to make restitution. But the Protestants in New-England teach the Indians the sincere milk of the word, and give them the whole bible in their hands, to discern the truth : this education has been so blessed, as our Indian converts, at least some of them, pray and preach better than many Romish clergy-*

* History of New-England, pag. 203, & seq.—

clergymen. We could have baptized many troops of *Indians*, says Mr. *Mather*, if we would have used no other measures with them, than the *Roman Catholics* did upon theirs at *Maryland*, where they baptized a great crew of *Indians* in some new shirts, bestowed to encourage them thereto ; but the *Indians*, in a week or two, not knowing how to wash their shirts when grown foul, came and made a motion, *That the Roman Catholics should give them new shirts, or else they would renounce their Baptism*. Nor have we been acted with Popish avarice, falshood or cruelty, in prosecuting conversions ; the Popish missionaries are rarely employed, but where beaver, silver, or vast riches are to be gained. The *Spanish* Friars who went to *California*, quickly deserted it, because such a poor nation was not worth converting. Nor are we guilty of so much falsity and legerdemain tricks. *Mynbeer Dellijs*, a man sedulous and successful in his ministry among the *Maquas*, assures me, that a *French* Predicator attempting to bring the *Indians* over to his interest, to cure them of their infidelity, said, the sun should such a day be put out, which terrify'd them at a sad rate ; but the *Dutchman* reply'd, this was no more than every child could foretel, by reading the day of the eclipse in an almanac, which filled the people with prejudices against the offers that the *French* made. The people of *New-England* have used no such stratagems nor knaveries, far less have they used popish cruelty. It is impossible to reckon up the various and exquisite barbarities with which the execrable *Spaniards* murdered in less than fifty years, no less than fifty millions of *Indians* : Was this the way of bringing them in to the sheepfold of our merciful *Jesus* ? But the good people of *New-England* have carried with so much tenderness to those tawny creatures among whom they live, that they would not own so much as a foot of land in the country, without a fair consent of the natives, albeit we had a royal charter from the King of *Great-Britain*, to protect us in our settlement upon this continent. We likewise enacted laws, *That if any of our cattel did damage*

to their corn, we should give them ample satisfaction, and assist them in fencing their fields; with other laws against selling or giving them intoxicating liquors. This account may stop the calumnies of *Roman Catholics* against the Churches of the Reformation, for neglecting to evangelize the natives of the *Indies*.

We have a further narrative of the success of the Gospel among the *Indians*, by the same Mr. Mather; he says *, *The number of adult persons of the Indians in the islands of Nantuket and Martha's Vineyard, is about three thousand, of which sixteen hundred profess the Christian Religion; that, in the year 1694, their number was considerably increased.* We have a further account of a considerable number of Christianized *Indians* on the continent †, and that M. Dellius a Dutch minister in *Albany* has learned the language of the *Indians* in those parts, and God has smiled on his endeavours so, as considerable numbers of them are converted to the Faith of *Christ*; and there is reason to hope, that what is done is but the first-fruits of a great harvest to follow.

I have seen a later account of the present state of Christianity among the Christianized *Indians* of *New-England*, in a letter from the same Dr. Mather to the Honourable Sir William Asburst Governour of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel among the *Indians* in *New-England*, and parts adjacent in *America*, printed at *Boston* in 1705. From which take the following relation. “ We shall now proceed where the History of “ *New-England* leaves off, and lay before your Honour “ the present circumstances of the evangelic work “ among our *Indians*. There were in the southern “ parts of this province about four or five years ago, “ when your commissioners sent a couple of *English* “ ministers, who were masters of the *Indian* tongue, to “ visit them; no less than thirty several Congregations “ of *Indians*, who commonly assembled every *Lord's* “ Day, and a great part of them to lectures on other days “ for

* History of *New-England*, Book 6. chap. 6. pag. 50, & seq.

† Ibidem, pag. 60, & seq.

“ for the worship of the Great God, and our Lord
“ *Jesus Christ*. We cannot understand, that the num-
“ ber of the Congregations is considerably altered
“ from what it was when these gentlemen examined
“ their condition, and brought us that report from
“ them. Indeed, the number of *Indians* in this land
“ is not comparable to what it was fifty years ago,
“ the hand of God has strangely wasted them; and the
“ war they began on the *English* in 1675, hastened a
“ strange desolation upon whole provinces. Almost
“ all that remain in this *Massachusetts* province are so
“ far Christianized, *That they believe there is a God, and*
“ *but one God, and that Jesus Christ is the Son of God,*
“ *and the Saviour of the World*. Mr. *Experience Mayhew*,
“ who is grandson to the old gentleman who first in-
“ structed the *Indians* in *Martha's Vineyard*, and, like
“ his grandfather, is a laborious teacher among them,
“ informs us, *That there are about 180 Indian families*
“ *on that Island, and that of these there are no more*
“ *than two persons who now remain Heathens*. He at
“ this time is gathering another Church of *Indians*,
“ whereof he himself is to be Pastor.

“ At the time of our last visitation four or five
“ years ago, there were about 37 *Indians* constant
“ Preachers of the Gospel to them in their own lan-
“ guage, in which they have *Bibles, Catechisms, Psalms*,
“ and other books of piety translated by the labours
“ of *Englishmen*. Besides, there are seven or eight *Eng-*
“ *lish* ministers who have learned the *Indian* tongue,
“ who visit the *Indian Assemblies*, pray and preach
“ among them, and give such directions as are need-
“ ful to their affairs. The *Indian* ministers often ap-
“ ply to these *English* ones, for their advice about in-
“ structing their flocks; and some of our *English*
“ preachers do constantly spend every *Lord's Day* with
“ the *Indian Assemblies*, having taken charge of them.
“ How the ordinary congregations of the *Indians* are
“ inclined, may appear from a letter of Mr. *Samuel*
“ *Danforth* now before us, dated not many weeks
“ ago, viz. in the year 1705. he says, *They met me at*

“ Little Compton, about two months since, to hear me
 “ preach; had you been there to see how well they filled
 “ up their seats, with what gravity they behaved them-
 “ selves, what attention they gave, what affection they
 “ showed, how powerfully Pawquachise an Indian prayed,
 “ (I put him to pray, having never before heard him,
 “ and being willing to have some trial of his abilities,
 “ in order to approbation for his office) how melodiously
 “ Jonathan George another Indian set the tune for the
 “ Psalm, and carried it out, and how dextrously the
 “ young lads of twelve years of age could turn to the proofs
 “ thro’ the sermon, and how thankful they were to me
 “ that I should take so much pains, as to come so far
 “ from home to preach to them; I am sure you would
 “ have been much affected with it. There are some of
 “ their congregations advanced to all the privileges of
 “ an evangelical church-state, enjoying all special or-
 “ dinances; more will be quickly gathered. They
 “ have Pastors and Elders of their own, ordained
 “ sometimes by the hands of Indian ministers in pre-
 “ sence of the *English*, all after our manner in *New-*
 “ *England*: and by admonitions and excommunica-
 “ tions publickly dispensed, they proceed against scan-
 “ dalous offenders, when any such are found among
 “ them.

“ We shall also insert an extract of a letter from
 “ Mr. Josiah Torrey, an hopeful young man, who has
 “ learned the *Indian* tongue, and begins to preach to
 “ them in their own language. He says, *Their gravity*
 “ *and diligent attendance in time of worship, with the af-*
 “ *fectionate confessions of such as are admitted into the*
 “ *Church, makes me hope, that many of them have the*
 “ *work of the spirit wrought in them, according to the*
 “ *mighty power of God. Their method, respecting those*
 “ *who are admitted into Church Communion, is more ac-*
 “ *cording to the manner of the Churches in the primi-*
 “ *tive times, than is now practised in most parts. The*
 “ *person to be admitted stands forth in the midst of the*
 “ *Assembly, and first makes declaration of his knowledge,*
 “ *and sometimes desires information in things arduous and*
 “ *doubtful;*

“ doubtful ; then he makes a confession of sin, which they
 “ do, as I have seen, with tears and trembling, as in
 “ Acts xvi. and then gives account of convictions, expe-
 “ riences, and comforts, in which they are large and par-
 “ ticular. After much counsel and exhortation given by
 “ their Pastor to remain stedfast, they are admitted. I
 “ would hope, that additions are made to the Church
 “ daily of such as shall be saved. There are many of
 “ them who maintain a Christian Conversation, and are
 “ to be accounted not almost, but altogether Christians.
 “ This does encourage the preaching of the Gospel to them,
 “ when we see it pleases God to make it his Power unto
 “ Salvation.

“ As to the manner of performing stated exercises
 “ of Religion among the *Indians*, there needs no other
 “ account, but that they are conformable to the *Eng-*
 “ *lish*, as has been above narrated, and as taught by
 “ their Apostle *Eliot*, whose name is of wonderful au-
 “ thority still among them. The rules he gave them
 “ for forms of marriage, for admonitions, and excom-
 “ munications, are not to be found fault with by any,
 “ but it will provoke them ; they think it strange,
 “ if any neglect to pray in their families morning and
 “ evening, and call them *Matchet* or wicked men.
 “ The *Frenchified Indians* in the eastern parts of this
 “ province, have, by their long war upon us, denied
 “ us opportunities to Christianize them ; the *French*
 “ priests have made them averse to true Christianity.
 “ We have been at considerable pains and expence to
 “ Christianize the *Mobegin Indians* in *Connecticut* co-
 “ lony, but they have been obstinate in their *Paga-*
 “ *nism*, which has put a stop to our endeavours ; which
 “ yet we will revive, as soon and as well as we can.
 “ A most exemplary *Indian* minister, whose name is
 “ *Japhet*, has of late made several visits among his
 “ countrymen, the Pagan *Indians* about the *Nara-*
 “ *ganset* country, and God has crowned his endeavours
 “ with success : we resolve to give him all possible en-
 “ couragement. We have left no stone unturned, that
 “ we might obtain some able and faithful missionaries

“ for the five nations, that are some hundred of miles
 “ distant from us to the Westward ; all that we have
 “ hitherto accomplished is, that we have supported
 “ and rewarded, and at this day continue to do, the
 “ pains of several *Dutch* ministers, who proceed as far
 “ as they can in communicating the knowledge of
 “ *God* and *Christ* unto these distant Savages ; and of
 “ late there has been some desirable success of their
 “ ministry. The main support we have had for the
 “ expensive part of this work, has been from the
 “ revenues remitted thither by the *Honourable Corpo-*
 “ *ration for propagating the Gospel among the Indians ;*
 “ the liberalities of pious men among ourselves has also
 “ been employ’d this way ; upon many occasions,
 “ particular gentlemen in this country have often de-
 “ vised liberal things to promote Christianity among
 “ the *Indians*. The studies of your Commissioners are
 “ now engaged more particularly, upon the intentions
 “ of bringing the *Indians* into the most compact
 “ *English* circumstances that can be proposed ; but this
 “ must be a work of time. In the mean while, tho’
 “ we could wish the evangelical work among the *In-*
 “ *dians* had lesser difficulties to clog it, yet we have
 “ reason to be glad, that so much Christianity and
 “ Prosperity does attend it. As the conversion of the
 “ natives to our holy Religion, was one special thing
 “ propounded by these good men who first planted
 “ this country, when a waste and vast wilderness ;
 “ so the salvation of many natives that have been con-
 “ verted unto God, has been richly worth all the
 “ pains and costs therein expended.” So far concern-
 ing propagating Christianity among the Heathens in
New-England.

Before I conclude the history of what has been done
 by the *English*, for propagating the Gospel among the
 Heathen in these last ages, I shall observe, That there
 is an account of the *Society for propagating the Gospel*
in Foreign Parts, established by the Royal Charter of
King William III. with their proceedings, and hopes of
 continued progress under the reign of *Queen Anne*,
 printed

printed at *London* in 1706. Where we find, that there was an Ordinance of Parliament in *July* 1649, for promoting and propagating the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* in *New-England*; that in 1661, King *Charles II.* did incorporate several persons under the name of the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in *New-England*, and parts adjacent. In the year 1685 *, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, by his last will and testament, gives a foundation for two fellows in *Oxford*, to take on them the Orders of Priesthood, and go to sea in his Majesty's Fleet, or when called by the Lord Bishop of *London*, that they go into any of his Majesty's Plantations, and there take on them the cure of Souls. The Honourable *Robert Boyle* Esquire, by his last will †, *July* 18. 1691, “ over and above the sum of 300 *l.* given towards that
 “ piety, gives 100 *l.* more to that corporation for
 “ the instruction of poor *Indian* converts; and, after
 “ debts and legacies, appoints the residue of his estate
 “ to be laid out, for want of other direction, to charitable uses: he does chiefly recommend the laying
 “ out of the greatest part of the same for the advancement and propagation of the *Christian Religion* among
 “ *Infidels*.—— And when, by a codicil, he settled
 “ an annual salary for some learned divine or preaching minister for ever, to preach eight sermons in
 “ the year, for proving the *Christian Religion* against
 “ notorious *Infidels*, he does require, that the said
 “ preacher shall be assisting to all companies, and encouraging to them in any undertaking for propagating the *Christian Religion* in Foreign Parts.” The Royal Charter for erecting the Society for propagation of the Gospel, was dated *June* 16. 1701 ‖, with rules for their meetings and procedure, and powers to them to receive subscriptions, and to collect money contributed for the said purpose. The Society found the *English* colonies in *America* to be extended 1200 miles in length, under ten several governments; but in some of these, there was no provision for ministers, and, in
 all,

* Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, pag. 7.

† Ibidem, pag. 9.

‖ Ibidem, pag. 15.

all, fewer than the instruction of the people required; and therefore did send over Pastors to exercise their ministry, in such places where they might be most useful. Upon Queen *Anne's* accession to the Throne, in answer to the Society's Address *, *She promised to be always ready to do her part towards promoting and encouraging so good a work.* Upon this encouragement, the Society sent several Divines and Students, whose designations we have in the said printed account, to labour in several parts of the *English* Plantations in *America*, with competent salaries, distributing *Bibles*, and *Common-Prayer Books*, and giving several fruits of their bounty, and tokens of respect to other missionaries. They received also accounts from their correspondents, of the success of those they employ'd among the *Indians* near *New-York*, and the *Five Nations* bordering upon it; and particularly from *M. Lyrius* and *Dellius*, two *Dutch* Pastors who laboured in that work. Tho' after all, the vagrant rambling condition of the *Indians*, the arts of the *French* Jesuits among them, and the innate prejudices these natives have against the *English* for unjust encroachments upon their lands, (which makes them not stand to say, *They cannot believe we wish them a place in heaven, when we deny them a place upon earth*; with other things of that nature) do very much obstruct the success of so good a work.

Mean time 'tis proper to observe, that the *English* have a great trade in the *East-Indies*, and many forts, factories, and settlements there. Queen *Elizabeth* granted the first patent for erecting that *East-India* Company, on the 31st of *December* 1600; the Charter it self may be seen in *Mr. Harris's compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. I. † and several other Charters granted to that Company, by King *Charles* and *James II.* and to the new *East-India* Company by King *William III.* with the heads of agreement between the two companies,

* Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, pag. 31. & seq.

† *Harris's Collection*, Vol. I. pag. 57, & seq.

companies, and the Charter of settlement granted upon the said agreement, in the Appendix to Vol. II.* By the by, that Collection of Mr. *Harris's* is a great and very valuable work, but has very little in it, so far as I have observed, concerning the Propagation of Christianity. There we have the journals and narratives of the *English East-India* merchants, admirals, and officers, from the first erection of that company to the year 1620. *Ormuz* on the coast of *Persia* was taken from the *Portuguese* by the *English*, on the 25th of *April* 1622, where they have a great trade. They have also a noble settlement at *Surat*, at *Fort St. George*, and a rich trade in the Gulph of *Bengala*, and in the Port and Island of *Bombay*, (which came into the hands of the King of *England*, by the marriage of *Queen Catharine* of *Portugal*, and King *Charles II.* gave it to the *East-India* † Company) and in several other places of the *East-Indies*; but have been stripped of *Amboyna* in the year 1618, and of their trade and settlements in the *Banda* islands in the year 1616 ‡, by the *Dutch*, and thereby deprived of the trade of nutmegs, cloves, mace, and some others of that kind. But my design does not oblige me to enlarge upon these affairs relating to commerce; it appears, that in these forts and settlements the *English* have had good opportunities to promote Christianity among the Heathen, and to overthrow Paganism; but what they have done in this important affair has not occurred to me, and I dare not insert any thing in this history without sufficient vouchers. They seem of late to have this matter more at heart, as appears by a letter of the reverend Mr. *Stevenson*, chaplain to the *East-India* company, which shall be afterward noticed.

I

* *Harris's* Collection, Vol. 2. Appendix, pag. 45, to—56.

† Of the Governours of *Bombay*, their Conduct and Severities, particularly of Mr. *Child*, see Captain *Hamilton's* new Account of the *East-Indies*, Vol. 1. Chap. 17—20. and of *Fort St. George*, see *Ibid.* Chap. 29.

‡ *Harris's* Collection, Vol. 1. pag. 189.

I go now to discourse of the Propagation of Christianity by the *Dutch*: but before I enter upon that subject, 'tis proper to observe, how, and at what time they obtained so large territories as they now possess in the *East-Indies*. In order to this, we must look to the reign of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, he having seized *Portugal* in the year 1580, and annexed the same to the crown of *Spain*, he and his successors continued to possess it to the year 1640, and thereby had a pretended right to all the *Portugueze* conquests in the *Indies*. The *Dutch* having thrown off the *Spanish* yoke in the *Netherlands*, and being about that time at war with this King *Philip*, in defence of their Religion and Liberties, the *Spaniards* cut off their trade to the several ports of *Spain*, seized and clapt up their merchants in prisons and gallies, and confiscated their goods and effects wherever they could find them. In this situation of affairs the *Dutch* conceived, that by the trade of the *East-Indies* they might enrich themselves and weaken their enemies, by depriving them of that treasure that supported the war: to this end, they established an *East-India* company in the year 1597. *Manuel di Faria* speaks of their first attempts with a kind of indignation, saying *, *About this time came first into India, the scourge of the Portugueze pride and covetousness; for in the month of September news was brought to Goa, that the two first Holland ships which durst cut those seas, had been in the port of Titangone, and were bound for the island Sunda.* These two ships were afterwards destroyed by the *Portugueze*; yet this loss did not hinder the *Dutch* in the following year to set out a squadron of eight ships, under their Admiral *Cornelius Neque* of *Amsterdam*, who made a prosperous voyage. A great many more successful voyages and settlements of the *Dutch* may be read in *Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* †. In short, they obtained great factories, colonies, forts, and settlements in *Ceylon*, *Java*, *Sumatra*,

* *Portugueze Asia*, Tom. III. pag. 96.

† Vol. 1. from pag. 189, to 224.

tra, the *Moluccoes*, *Banda*, and other islands; yea, extended their trade even to the isles of *Japan*, and engrossed almost the whole trade of nutmegs, cloves, mace, spices, and many other fine things to themselves.

In these large settlements, I wish I could give a full account of what they have done to propagate *Christianity*, and overthrow *Paganism*. If what I am to offer, after some enquiry, be lame, 'tis for want of better information.

I find in *Ephraim Paget's Christianography* *, *That the company of the East-Indies, under the States of the Netherlands, have divers Plantations; as in Batavia, a city built by them in Java Major, where they have three Churches, in two of which are sermons preached in the Dutch tongue; and in the other, in the Malacca or native language. In Amboyna they have one church, and two ministers serving in it. In the isle of Herisoria, there is one church, and one minister in it. In the isles of Banda, as particularly in the isle Nero, one church and one minister. In Moluvo, three churches and ministers serving in them. In Makjion one. In Tidore one. In the coast of Coromandel, and in Palipatan one. In Surat under the Emperor of Mogul one. Moreover, in China, and in the isle of Formosa, and in the isle of Trywan, one as before. In Sincan one. In Japan they have one minister, and one church. Moreover, the said company maintaineth in East-India seven schools, in which, the children of Pagans that resort thither, have a pound of rice a day allowed them for their maintenance.*

In the isle of *Formosa*, Mr. Robert Junius, sometime of *Delpht* in *Holland*, was nominated by the honoured Senate of the *United Provinces*, for the conversion of the *Indians* in that island; who accordingly undertook the charge, went over to the place, bestowed much pains in laying the ground-work and principles of religion among them, so as, of persons grown up to years of discretion in that isle, five thousand nine hundred of both sexes gave their names to Christ, who professing
their

* *Christianography*, in Folio, pag. 275. printed at London, 1674.

their faith, and giving proper Answers to Questions propounded out of the Word of God, were baptized by him. He appointed School-masters to instruct others, and gained six hundred scholars to read and write ; he collected the chief heads of religion, and composed several prayers, and translated certain psalms into the *Formosan* language. This was done mostly in the Northern parts of the island ; in the Southern part he also planted churches in twenty-three towns, and promoted the worship of the true God among them. At last, having set divers pastors over them, being grown weak and unserviceable in body, and desiring to see his aged mother, and native country, he returned home *.

The learned *John Leusden*, Professor of *Hebrew* at *Utrecht* about the end of the last Century, produceth several letters from his correspondents, which give the following account of the propagation of Christianity by the *Dutch* in the *East Indies*. Mr. *Herman Specht*, Minister of the Gospel at *Colombo*, writes, *That in the kingdom of Jassanapatnam, under which Manaar is comprehended, but even Manaar being excepted, there are, according to the last Computation, and the List thence sent to us, one hundred, forty-one thousand, four hundred and fifty-six Christians, who have five Pastors to take care of them.* The same Mr. *Specht*, in another letter bearing date at *Colombo*, *January 6th, 1688*, says, *The number of converted Indians, who have embraced Christianity, is in the space of four years greatly increased ; for the kingdom of Jassanapatnam, subject only to the Dutch East-India Company, bath two hundred, seventy-eight thousand, seven hundred and fifty-nine inhabitants : Among whom there are Indians professing to be Christians one hundred, eighty thousand, three hundred and sixty-four †.* In another letter it is said, *The state of the church is the same as when I wrote formerly ; the Malabar youths, who are trained up in the college, are diligent, and make good progress in learning the Dutch tongue ; so as in the space of one year they are able to read and write in that*

* *Turner's History of remarkable Providences*, chap. 62. pag. 73.

† *Vide Masfricht's Theologica Theo-Practica*, pag. 1054. —

that language, and to repeat their prayers and questions out of Vorstius's catechism, and to translate them from Dutch into Malabaric: they also sing psalms in our church. I hope God will give them his grace, and fill them with his holy Spirit, so as these youths in due time may be blessed instruments to propagate his name among the heathens. I heartily wish all this may be true. Mean time, we may remark with Mr. Mather, that one of the Indians converted in New England, hath cost them more pains than a great number that have been thus gained by the Dutch.

By a letter from Mr. *Adrian May*, Minister of the Gospel, and Prefect of the seminary at *Jaffanapatnam*, dated the 22d of *January* 1692, and by another letter from Mr. *Francis Valentine* of *Dort*, Minister at *Amboyna*, dated there, *June* 4th, 1686, we are informed, *That not only is there so remarkable a conversion of the Indians in Ceylon, but also in Amboyna, many both Mahometans and Gentiles turn Christians; for, says he, it pleased God to send me to Amboyna in the East Indies; in the chief city there, Cornelius Vander Sluyts of Utrecht, who is not unknown to you, told me, that he did feed with the Word of God thirty thousand persons, who by his ministry had been reclaimed from Mahometanism and Paganism, so as at one time, about one hundred infants were baptized, who, when they come to years, do give laudable evidence of their diligence and piety. Here religion and learning in schools does flourish; God is known and worshipped among the Heathens; so as leaving the Deities their fathers served, the poor superstitious people of Amboyna acknowledge the true God, and worship him. Yea, the Mahometans seek to be baptized, and chearfully offer themselves to Christ, and do not refuse to obey his laws. For these accounts we are obliged to the learned Mr. Leusden, let us see what we can learn from others.*

In a curious and valuable collection of learned treatises, printed lately at *Amsterdam*, in several volumes, the title whereof you have at the bottom of the page*,

we

* Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica, Classis Tertiæ, pag. 917, & seq.—

we have a letter to *John Tseetsi*, by *Jacob Vischer*, where he writes, *That in the island of Sumatra, as big as Germany, and at the castle of Badan, where he was employed to administer sacraments, and well rewarded for his pains, there being many to be baptized who gave him great gifts; they did not receive the Lord's Supper but once in two years, and to them he was very acceptable: he learned many to read and pray; he ordained deacons and elders; provided golden cups for administering the communion, and got teachers to instruct youth from the neighbouring isles.* He says, *ships full of Heathens come here, who willingly receive the Christian Religion, bringing gifts in gold and precious stones, which on their knees they offer to ministers of the Gospel.* This Country, adds he, *may be called the Ophir of Solomon, for here is plenty of gold, &c.* The letter bears date at *Batavia* in the *East Indies*, the 21st of *May 1718*.

In another volume of the same learned collection, we have another letter from the same laborious *Jacob Vischer* *, concerning the present state of Religion in the *East-Indies*, where are many things which regard the condition of Paganism in those countries; which I here pass, because I have insisted upon them in the former chapter. He observes, “ That in the *East-Indian* “ islands, as in *Sumatra*, *Java*, and *Celebes*, where the “ kingdom of *Macassar* is of greatest power, the “ *Mahometan* Religion prevails, which cannot be easily “ rooted out of their minds, who are too much ad- “ dicted to carnal pleasures; and also the empire of “ the Great *Mogul*, *Persia*, and some adjacent places “ are infected with that sect. But in the territories “ which border upon the sea, the most part are hea- “ then idolaters; of whom the principal are, *Malacca*, “ *Siam*, *Bengala*, *Cqromandel*, *Malabar*, and *Guza-* “ *raita* or *Cambodia*.

“ But if we look to the state of the Protestant Re- “ formed Religion, this prevails, says he, in these “ countries where our *Dutchmen* have power. And “ in

* *Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica*, Classis Quintæ, Amstelodami 1721, pag. 715——724.

“ in no place will we find more Christians, than in the
 “ isles of *Amboyna*, *Cariophyllophoro*, *Banda*, *Myrislica*,
 “ *Ternate*, and the neighbouring *Moluccoes*, in which
 “ the greater part of strangers are converted to the
 “ true God. In *Batavia* there are many Christians;
 “ whose number, with those in the neighbouring cities
 “ and villages, exceeds 100,000. Here is the seat,
 “ here the empire of the *Hollander*, and of the gover-
 “ nour of all the *Dutch East-Indies*; who exceeds
 “ many kings in power and authority in kingdoms
 “ and dominions. Here are rich houses and palaces,
 “ most pleasant gardens, and an immense treasure of
 “ riches, with which few cities in *Europe* can compare.
 “ Here are two churches, where are sermons in the
 “ *Dutch*; two in the *Portugueze*, and two in the
 “ *Malaic* tongue, which is a daughter of the *Ara-
 “ bic*. Here are twelve, and sometimes more Pastors
 “ of the word, each of them having a stipend of 225
 “ florins a month; whereas others out of *Holland*,
 “ have only 200. In the island of *Ceylon*, that produces
 “ abundance of cinnamon, the number of Christians of
 “ the reformed Religion daily increases; without doubt,
 “ there are some hundred thousands of them there,
 “ who have given their names to Christ.”

There is but one other passage in this letter, that I
 shall take notice of: Mr. *Vischer* speaking of the Chri-
 stians of *St. Thomas* in *Malabar*, of whom we have
 discoursed more fully in the former chapter, says,
 “ That the *Portugueze* being Papists, after they had
 “ conquered so large territories in the *East-Indies*, were
 “ abhorred by these Christians, yet they did draw some
 “ of them by force, others by rewards, unto their side;
 “ till at last, the *Dutch* having overcome the *Portu-
 “ gueze*, and expelled them out of that country, al-
 “ lowed the Christians of *St. Thomas* free liberty to
 “ exercise their own Religion, which does for most
 “ part agree with the Reformed: for they don’t wor-
 “ ship images; they deny *Transubstantiation*; they
 “ give to *Laics* wine mix’d with water in the Lord’s
 “ Supper; and assert the marriage of the priests is
 V O L. II. Y “ lawful.

“lawful. Some of them are *Nestorians*, others are
 “*Eutyrians*, and most of them affirm the Holy Ghost
 “proceeds only from the Father. The number of
 “these Christians in *Malabar*, exceeds 100,000 per-
 “sons, of whom many are rich merchants.” This
 letter is dated at *Couchin*, the last of *October* 1720.

We have distinct accounts of the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathens in the *East-Indies*, by the *Danish* missionaries; their zeal and piety deserves commendation, and may be a pattern to those who shall afterward travel in the like work: and therefore, tho’ the papers concerning this affair be in several hands, yet I shall here give an abstract of them.

The first account I have seen thereof, is in a pamphlet, entitled, *The Propagation of the Gospel in the East*; translated from high *Dutch*, and printed at *London* in 1709, where we find, that in the year 1705, *Frederic IV.* King of *Denmark*, after he had considered a motion made him by one of his chaplains, resolved upon sending some missionaries to *Tranquebar*, situate on the coast of *Coromandel* in the *East-Indies*, to attempt the conversion of the *Malabar* Heathens. In order to this, he made application to the professors of divinity in *Hall*, a most flourishing University, to supply his Majesty with such persons as should be thought fit to undertake a design of that importance. *Mr. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg*, and *Mr. Henry Plutschko* resolved to go upon so difficult an errand; for so it might be looked upon, considering how little had been done hitherto by Protestants, and what untrodden paths and unknown difficulties, they might be obliged to press through. The design did not end with these two; the harvest being great, so few hands could not manage it. Three more missionaries were sent after them, who arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope*, in *April* 1709. But the two already named, embarked at *Copenhagen*, *November* 29, 1705. and arrived at the said *Cape*, the 23d of *April* following. Thence they departed, with many fervent wishes of such as were friends to the design,

sign, and, after many hardships, landed at *Tranquebar* in the *East-Indies*, on the 9th of July 1706. While they were aboard their ship, they applied themselves to the study of the *Portuguese* and *Malabaric* languages, the former being of as extensive use as the latter, in the *East-Indies*. The missionaries being arrived, by the help of a *Malabar* who had served the *East-India* company, and was skilled in the *European* languages, they acquired such skill, as to be able to preach both in the *Portuguese* and *Malabar* tongues. One *Modalipa* a *Malabar* gentleman, was their first convert from Paganism, and after him, two others, whom they took into their service, who were willing to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; and in a little time they baptized five Heathens in the *Danish* Church.

By the way we may observe, that *Tranquebar* *, where the missionaries laboured, has been in the hands of the *Danes* these 80 years, and is by them considerably improved; it was but a small village, but 'tis now a populous town, surrounded with strong walls, and provided with a good *Fortaleza* or Citadel. There are three Christian Churches in it, a *Danish* Church for the use of that nation, the *Jerusalem* Church, for the converted *Malabarians*; and another belonging to the Papists. There is besides, a large Mosque built by the Mahometans, and five huge *Pagods* frequented by the *Malabar* Heathens. Some of the adjacent towns and villages, fifteen in number, are subject to the *Danish* government. The largest of these is *Borejar*, containing almost as many inhabitants as *Tranquebar* it self, and *Tilliar* a fine large town; the rest of the villages are not so populous. Thro' all these, the *Danish* missionaries preached the Gospel.

Another pamphlet, giving account of the progress of these missionaries, is printed in the year 1710. They gain † more and more ground among the Heathens in *Malabar*; God opened a door to speak the mysteries of Christ, tho' his servants meet with a deal of opposi-

* Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 3. pag. 3-

† Ibidem, part 2. pag. 4. & sequentibus.

sition. However, their congregation is increased at present, to above one hundred; and they have hopes, that there will be a considerable addition in a short time. They tell us, that the *Malabarians* did not only resort from very distant places, to hear the word preached in their own language, but had also many private conferences with the Christian missionaries, upon the subject of the Salvation of their Souls. Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, who is the greatest proficient in the *Malabar* tongue, has sent over several treatises composed by himself in that language, bearing the following titles: *Twenty six Sermons, preached at Jerusalem Church, upon all the Articles of the Christian Religion. A Draught of the examination of such as are to be baptized. A book of Psalms usually sung in our Churches.* As for the outside of these books, they are of a quite different dress from those in *Europe*; there is neither paper nor leather, pen nor ink made use of; the characters, by the help of iron tools are impressed on a sort of leaves of a certain tree, much like a palm tree; at the end of every leaf a hole is made, and thro' the hole a string is drawn; whereby they are kept together, but must be untied when ever the prints of these characters are to be read. The missionaries designed to solicit the King of *Tanjour*, for liberty to travel freely in his dominions, and to preach the Gospel of Christ to such of the Heathens as are willing to receive it*; but were obliged to lay aside this design, being informed, that no such address will be received, except it be accompanied with great gifts and presents, which they are not able to offer. But they entered on a journey to *Madras*, January 7, 1710. when Mr. *Ziegenbalg's* congregation were afraid of his leaving of them, they intreated him with tears in their eyes not to quit them, but to return as soon as possible, which he promised to do. Last new year's day, he wrote a pretty long letter to the Heathens in *Malabar*, laying down the most proper means for their real conversion to God, and inviting them to espouse the interest of their souls, while

it

* Propagation of the Gospel, &c. part 2. pag. 19.

It was brought so near their doors: he transcribed copies of this letter, and dispersed the same among the Heathens, with the Gospel of St. Matthew; and a small treatise containing *the Principles of Christianity*, presenting it even to the *Bramans*, and talking with the Heathen about these things, almost every hour. But I cannot enlarge on all the particulars.

The same author also informs us *, that their new planted congregation at *Tranquebar* is increasing under the gracious influence of God, tho' in its very infancy surrounded with various oppositions and persecutions, the common attendants of the Gospel of Christ. Our whole congregation, says he, *both of those who are actually baptized, and the Catechumens, or those who are yet instructed in the principles of Christianity, is increased to about 160 persons.* Our Malabaric school is in very great forwardness, and provided with an able master, who before his conversion to Christianity, was one of the most able and famous poets and schoolmasters at *Tranquebar*. His conversion caused a great alarm among the heathens, who never expected any such thing; but now all is quiet again. We have begun to set up some manufactories, which, we hope, may prove in time beneficial to the main work we are carrying on, if we are powerfully supported by our superiors. I do not question but hundreds of Heathens would have been initiated into Christianity by this time, but these supports being wanting, we endeavour the more to bring the few that are entered into the lists of our Religion, to a more solid and experimental taste thereof. But above all things, I must tell you, what taketh me most, is the education of the Malabar children here. They are of a good promising temper, being not yet prepossessed with so many head-strong prejudices against Christianity. They are sooner wrought upon into a sense of the fear of God. Certainly we look on our youth as a stock and nursery, from whence, in time, plentiful supplies may be drawn, for enriching our Malabaric church, with such members as may prove a glory and ornament to the Christian Religion. It is true, there are but few of the

grown Heathens, who are willing to be baptized into the name of Christ, and yet there is always a concourse of people attending our sermons, and other parts of divine service; and doubtless, many return with strong convictions left upon their minds: all this gives me a fair prospect of gaining a larger door for the word in process of time. He says also, that the *English* at Fort St. David have been very encouraging to this noble design. He adds *, the *Roman Catholic* missionaries have made a wonderful progress, and continue to over-run the country; but since their chief design is to make proselytes to a party, such as fall under their management, are left in the utmost darkness and ignorance, without receiving the least tincture of real inward piety and conversion. At this rate, *they go astray like lost sheep*, and remain altogether strangers to the grand mysteries of salvation; nor do their priests take the least pains of training them up to a competent knowledge of divine things, but suppose they have sufficiently answered the character of a missionary, whenever the poor Heathens have learned some external customary formalities of the church of *Rome*; and after this manner they convert numbers of Pagans in a little time, and with less labour,

In the year 1709 †, every thing was very scarce and dear in that country, so as many *Malabars* died for want of necessaries, others sold themselves for slaves. The *Portuguese* church there, being very numerous, took hold of this opportunity, and bought about fourscore and one persons, being sold from twenty to thirty *Fano*, or from eight to sixteen shillings *English* money. The *Pater Vicarius* appointed a solemn day for baptizing all these at once, when they went in procession, attended with *Ma'abar* drums and flutes, as used in the Heathen Pagods, and were baptized without one question asked of them. Our author met with a *Bramav*, who had been baptized four years before that, by these popish missionaries, and yet knew nothing of Christianity,

* Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 2. pag. 32.

† Ibidem, pag. 34.

nity, but that he was sprinkled with water ; yea, carried still about with him the usual badge whereby these Pagan Priests distinguish themselves from the common people, which is a little heathenish idol, fastned before their breasts ; he also anointed his breast and forehead after the way of these Pagan Priests, with an ointment made of ashes and cow-dung, and other filthy ingredients. This is the sorry conversion of Heathens by the Popish missionaries ; such converts will be poor ornaments to the church.

In a third pamphlet, under the same title, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, printed at London in 1714, we have a further account of this good work. The missionaries set up a Charity School for advancing their design ; they picked up a few *Malabar* boys, and laid the foundation of the school, in 1706* ; to engage the Heathen as much as possible, they not only instructed their children *gratis*, but also provided many of them with food and raiment, as their exigence required. This, in the very infancy of the design, could not but leave a good impresson upon the grown Heathens, who hardly ever before had seen any such thing as love among Christians, except it were that love which they usually place in the riches and treasures of *India*. As this sort of love is too obvious, from the conduct of Christians in these parts, so it has disgraced the best of Religions to a prodigy, and rendered the name of a Christian scandalous to a proverb. The missionaries erected one *Malabar* and one *Portuguese* school, sharing the management of these schools betwixt them : when the number of scholars increased, they were assisted by ushers. One of the most expensive branches of the whole undertaking was, the transcribing of books for the use of their schools ; they sometimes employed four, five or six *Kanakappel* or transcribers, as the exigence of the work did require, and their circumstances allow'd : they neglected not any opportunity of conversing with Heathens come to age, about the state of their souls, and the eternal truths of the Christian Faith ;

* *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, part 3. pag. 11, &c.

but found them bigotted to their Pagan superstitions. Some attended out of curiosity, some from a view to temporal interest, and some did make a step toward Christianity, but were soon shaken, on the approach of any suffering, and started back to Paganism. Some were highly pleased when they heard the missionaries talk of the contempt of the world, and of a Reformation of Manners; but as soon as they touched the grand article of *Jesus Christ*, and upon *Baptism*, as the first inlet to a spiritual life, they flinched from it, and said, *They could be happy without all this*. As for the adult Heathens, who were willing to be initiated by Baptism into the Christian Faith, they are carefully instructed for some months together, before that Sacrament is administered to them, that so the missionaries may discover at least the operation of the Spirit of God working within, and inspiring them with a hearty desire to submit to the rules of the Gospel. We must suppose the devil, as the God of this world, has an extraordinary power in these vast Pagan dominions, benighted for so many ages with heathenish darkness, superstition and idolatry; so as they are thereby become a cage of unclean birds, and a receptacle of *Demons* and wicked spirits. This is perhaps the reason, that some of the *Catechumens* are now and then haunted by most terrible temptations, the enemy of souls terrifying them one time with diabolical visions, and at another with frightful suggestions offered to the mind from within; so unwilling he is to quit one of his wonted palaces! and this usually befalls them much about the time of their approaching Baptism.

The missionaries erected a church, and consecrated it in *August 1707*, in presence of a numerous company of *Heathens*, *Mabometans*, and *Christians*, who had a sermon preached to them both in the *Malabaric* and *Portuguese* language. By the way it may be observed, that nothing of a picture or image must be seen in any church designed for the benefit of the *Heathens*, for fear of giving offence to the *Malabarians*, the images of their Gods being from their childhood so deeply impressed

impressed on their brain, the very sight of a picture is enough to bring their former image-worship into their memory. Thus it happened, a *Malabarian* coming into a *Danish* church at *Tranquebar*, and spying the image of a *Lion* there, he lifted up his hands, and very devoutly made his *Schalam*, or religious bow, supposing it to be an idol of the *Christians*, set up there for religious worship and adoration. The scandalous corrupt life of *Christians* residing in the *East-Indies* many years, their earthly-mindedness, and excess of covetousness, makes our holy Religion a stench in the nostrils of these *Heathens*, which is not to be worn out, by a contrary practice of a more heavenly life and conversation. *Francis Xavier*, called by the *Papists*, *The Apostle of the Indies*, found the city of *Goa* abounding with such flagrant sins and enormities, that he was fain to lay aside for a time his thoughts of converting the *Heathens*, and to attempt first the conversion of his own countrymen, who lived more like *Idolaters* than *Christians* *. *Joseph Acoſta*, who laboured for 15 years together in the conversion of the inhabitants of *Peru*, in the *West-Indies*, confesses, *He did not find any impediment more obstructive to the Propagation of the Gospel, than the impiety of the Christians* †, *and their scandalous practices*. Another obstacle whereby *Heathens* are debarred from the Religion of *Christ*, is the great uncharitableness of *Christians* to the converts of their Religion; this is chiefly by the conduct of *Roman Catholics* in these parts. Abundance of proselytes brought over by them to the church of *Rome*, are, after their Baptism, left in such pinching straits, as obliges them to beg their bread. The *Malabars* are offended at the sight of this; they say, *It were but reasonable Christians should provide for those who are become proselytes to their Religion, and not leave them to perish in want and misery*. What adds no small weight to the affliction of new converted heathens, is the persecution they suffer from their

* *Xavier's Life*, Book 2. pag. 92, & seq. Englished by *Dryden*.

† *Acoſta de procuranda Indorum salute*, lib. 2. cap. 18. pag. mih 247.

their own countrymen as soon as they embrace Christianity; every one that turns Christian is banished immediately from all that he hath, (except he himself be the head of a family) and utterly abandoned by his friends and relations; yea, he must expect no favour from any *Malabarian* whatsoever.

Since an exact knowledge of the *Malabar* divinity is necessary, to refute and raze the foundation of their idolatrous worship, Mr. *Ziegenbalg* purchased a good many books wherein it is contained, and applied himself to that study. I have given a little taste of it in the former chapter of this history *, and shall not now insist upon it.

But what tended in a special manner to advance this good design of propagating *Christianity* among the Heathen in that country was, the printing of the *Malabar New Testament*, which was begun *October* 1708, and ended in *March* 1711. About the latter end of that year 1250 copies of the *New Testament* in *Portuguese* were printed off: the missionaries settled a correspondence with the *Honourable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*, at *London*; and the said Society did very charitably send them a Printing-press with all necessary utensils, 600 weight of types, 100 reams of paper, with other valuable contributions; and one Mr. *Jonas Fink*, a native of *Silesia*, did go to the *East-Indies* to be their printer. With this assistance, a good many little books were printed for the use of the *Malabaric* school, and the converted heathens in these parts. The titles of these books are to be seen in the said pamphlet †.

The packet of letters from these parts, in *September* 1712, and in *January* 1713, gives account, that in the *Malabaric* and *Portuguese* churches, there were, in *January* 1713, of persons baptized 207, and *Catechumens* prepared for baptism 26. In the five charity schools were 78 children, of which 59 were clothed and maintained upon the public expence, and some persons

* Above, pag. 142——147.

† Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 3. pag. 47, & seq.

persons employ'd in preparing food for them, and doing other services about the churches and schools. The missionaries hope, that in a little time some of the more advanced scholars in the *Malabaric* school, will be fit to be employ'd in the quality of school-masters, catechists, and transcribers.

There is another pamphlet, giving an account of the Religion, Government and Œconomy of the *Malabarians*, sent by the *Danish* missionaries to their correspondents in *Europe*, translated from *High Dutch* and printed at *London* in 1717. The whole is pleasing and edifying, by way of *Question* and *Answer*. But I shall only notice a few queries. “ *Question II. * Have you discovered some true workings of grace in the souls of these*
 “ *Catechumens? Are you sure there is more in their*
 “ *conversion than a bare external compliance with, and*
 “ *verbal confession of the Christian Doctrine? What*
 “ *proofs and indications have you of an inward work of*
 “ *grace? Answer.* After the Gospel of *Christ* has
 “ begun to be preached to this heathen world, many
 “ commotions have been observed among *Heathens*,
 “ *Mahometans*, and popishly affected *Christians*. Before
 “ we began to preach here, every one thought himself
 “ safe in his wonted way of Religion, without any
 “ doubt about his future salvation; but after we have
 “ begun to call in question the goodness of their Re-
 “ ligion, and alarmed them into some doubts and ap-
 “ prehensions, many have exclaimed against us, and
 “ loaded our labour with lyes and calumnies: others
 “ have been so far convinced, as to own, they stand
 “ in need of a thorough conversion, and been willing
 “ to discourse with us more at large about their better
 “ concerns; but then they have suffered themselves to
 “ be diverted from so good a design by the cunning of
 “ *satan*. Others of the *Heathen* have agreed with us
 “ in many points, and have approved of whatever is
 “ written in the Word of God concerning a holy and
 “ virtuous life; but then they have refused the name
 “ of *Christians*, pretending, they could be saved without
 “ all

* Of the Religion, &c. of the *Malabarians*, pag. 46, & seq.

“ all this. Some at last have been entirely convinced
 “ of the necessity of believing on *Christ*, and of being
 “ baptized in his holy name, and have fully complied
 “ with these terms. However, before their admission
 “ to so sacred an ordinance, they have been faithfully
 “ instructed in the most necessary articles of our Reli-
 “ gion, especially about the nature of Faith in *Christ*,
 “ and true Repentance preceding it. Whenever we
 “ found so saving a change in some degree upon their
 “ minds, attended with a hearty desire to be admitted
 “ to Baptism, we then made no further delay in ad-
 “ ministring it to them, for fear of giving their friends
 “ occasion to obstruct the design, and by the craft of
 “ the devil, to make them return to *Heathenism*, as it
 “ has happened to some: yet none have ever been
 “ admitted to Baptism, without previous instruction in
 “ the principles of the catechism for two or three
 “ months together.—— None of these *Catechumens*
 “ but has had his share both of outward afflictions
 “ and inward temptations, during that time wherein
 “ he was prepared for Baptism. When baptized, we
 “ must leave them to the powerful operation of the
 “ good spirit of God, and thank the Lord for so pro-
 “ mising a beginning he has hitherto granted to our
 “ weak endeavours, in rescuing some from heathenish
 “ errors and superstitions, particularly in the midst
 “ of so many impediments that surround us on all
 “ hands.

“ Question III. * *What method do you observe in*
 “ *preaching and administering the Sacraments?* Answer.
 “ When I first began to preach in *Malabaric*, I did
 “ always chuse such a sentence of Scripture as treated
 “ upon an article of Faith, and this I explained in an
 “ easy doctrinal manner. According to this method I
 “ preached 25 sermons, and therein I opened, as well
 “ as I could, the principal branches of our holy Re-
 “ ligion. Afterwards being straitned in time, I could
 “ not set down any longer my sermons at large, but
 “ was fain to preach without the help of such notes.

“ However,

* Of the Religion of the *Malabarians*, pag. 50.

“ However, I did earnestly meditate upon every
“ point I was to propose, that I might deliver it
“ in a good connection, and with all plainness——
“ expounding the text, and then applying it by way
“ of instruction, correction, consolation, &c. My
“ fellow-labourer has hitherto preached on the Go-
“ spels in the *Portugueze* tongue, and in that lan-
“ guage he catechises every week. In the administra-
“ tion of the holy communion, we follow the liturgy
“ of the church of *Denmark*; every one that intends
“ to receive the sacrament must give notice of it
“ eight days before, during this time he is every day
“ catechised one hour, admonished, and duly pre-
“ pared for worthy receiving that ordinance. Bap-
“ tism is likewise administred conformable to that ritual.

“ Question IV. * *Do the new converted make their*
“ *confession before they are admitted to the communion?*
“ Answer. In externals, as we hinted before, we follow
“ the ritual of the church of *Denmark*, on purpose to
“ prevent the frivolous aspersions of those who would
“ insinuate, as if we ordered every thing by our own
“ head and fancy;—— tho’ we don’t think it conve-
“ nient to introduce in *India* every little circumstance
“ that may be innocently used in *Europe*. Thus, we
“ durst never conform to the wearing of a *Crucifix*
“ drawn on the top of the *Surplice*, as the custom is
“ in some churches of *Europe*; for should we use this,
“ the Heathens would certainly take the crucifix as an
“ idol, and worship it.—— For this reason we altoge-
“ ther abstain from all manner of pictures and images,
“ which in other countries may be more inoffensively
“ used, than among the Heathens in *India*. All other
“ rites and ceremonies are ordered in such a manner
“ as may prove to edification. As for confession in
“ particular, it gives us a fair opportunity to discourse
“ our people about the state of their souls, and to stir
“ them up upon that occasion, to the unfeigned practice
“ of true Religion.”

The

The fourth volume of Letters, concerning the *Propagation of Christianity by the Danish Missionaries*, is not yet published, so far as I know. I writ this in *August* 1723; but by several letters printed at *London* in the year 1720, it appears, that the said missionaries wrote to our present Sovereign King *George*, the following letter.

To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

Most Serene, most Potent, and most Gracious King
and Lord.

IT is not unknown to your Majesty, that God hath inclined the heart of his Danish Majesty, King *Frederic IV.* graciously to begin the *Propagation of the Gospel* among the Heathen in the *East-Indies*, with the management whereof we, the unworthy servants and dispensers of the word of God, are intrusted; and, according to the talents God has been pleased to bestow upon us from above, we endeavour with all diligence and fidelity, both by preaching and writing, to promote the conversion of the Gentiles.

There are many pious and learned gentlemen in your Majesty's kingdoms, who take great pleasure in this work, and have seconded it in the best manner, both by their good advice and assistance; and your majesty having been graciously pleased to permit *Bartholomew Ziegenbalg*, one of the underwritten missionaries, when at *London* last year, with all humility to give your Majesty a verbal account of the whole undertaking, we cannot but entertain good hopes from thence, that your Majesty will receive with some satisfaction, from the midst of the Heathen in this country, our joyful acknowledgments for the favourable inclinations your majesty was pleased to express towards the work of conversion carried on among them.

Among all the crowned heads of the Protestant Powers, your Majesty, by means of the large extensive commerce your subjects are engaged in with other nations, hath the

fairest opportunity of publishing the Gospel of Christ in divers languages, among those that do not believe it, and thereby to promote the conversion of the Heathen: and it is not a small number of your Majesty's subjects, as well those of the first rank, as others in a lower station, who heartily espouse the Propagation of the Gospel, and promoting Christian Knowledge. These considerations make us hope, that your Majesty being firmly seated on your royal throne, and having reduced the rebels to submission and obedience, will be more at leisure to regard and lay to heart the spreading of the saving Gospel of Christ in the Pagan World. This will not only render your name immortal among the evangelical churches, but will also be accompanied with a continual blessing in this life, and an eternal reward in that which is to come. As we desire hereby to return our most humble acknowledgments, for the great assistance received from your Majesty's subjects of Great-Britain, towards carrying on this work in the Heathen World; so we do further most humbly beseech your Majesty, to have this most Christian design in most gracious remembrance, and to continue to favour both the mission, and us who are engaged in it.

We wish your Majesty, and all the Royal Family of Great-Britain, a plentiful effusion of divine grace, and all temporal blessings, with a happy and prosperous government: and continue with the greatest submission,

Most serene and most gracious

King and Lord, your Ma-

jefty's most humble and

most obedient Servants,

*Bartholomew Ziegenbalg.
John Ernest Grundler.*

Written at Tranquebar
in the East-Indies,
upon the Coast of
Coromandel, January
2d, 1717.

To which Letter, our Sovereign returned the following gracious Answer.

To the Reverend, most Learned, our Beloved and Devout, &c. *Bartholomew Ziegenbalg*, and *John Ernest Grundler*, the Royal *Danish* Evangelical Missionaries at *Tranquebar* in *East-India*.

GEORGE, by the Grace of *GOD*, KING of *GREAT-BRITAIN*, &c. Our most gracious Will and Pleasure be known.

Reverend, most Learned, Beloved and Devout,

I*T is a most acceptable relation you have given us in a letter, dated the 2d of January of this present year, not only because the work of conversion to the Christian Faith begun among the Heathen, does, by the grace of God, prosperously advance; but also, that in this our kingdom is shown so much of laudable zeal towards supporting the Propagation of the Gospel.*

We wish you health and strength long to discharge your function, with a continued happy success: and as we shall be always very well pleased to hear of the progress thereof, so we shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and your encouragement.

Given at our Palace
at *Hampton-Court*,
23 August in the
3 Sept.
Year of our Lord
1717, and the *4th*
Year of our Reign.

We remain graciously

inclined to you,

GEORGE R.

To

To this gracious Letter the said Missionaries make a suitable return; the tenor whereof follows.

To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

*Most Serene, most Potent, and most Gracious King
and Lord;*

“ **Y**OUR Majesty’s most gracious Letter of the
 “ ^{23 August}_{3 Sept.} 1717, came to us on the 4th of May
 “ following. We received it with the greatest joy
 “ imaginable, and were highly comforted and quickened
 “ in our zeal for the glory of Almighty God, when
 “ we read these your Majesty’s most gracious expres-
 “ sions: *As we shall be always well pleased to hear*
 “ *of the happy success and progress of this work, so we*
 “ *shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you*
 “ *in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and*
 “ *your encouragement.* Your Majesty hereby most
 “ graciously allows us to make a further report of the
 “ state of our affairs, and we thence conceive joyful
 “ hopes, that your Majesty will add to the glorious
 “ title of a powerful *Defender of the Faith*, the noble
 “ character of its zealous Promoter; not only by sup-
 “ porting the reign of *Jesus Christ* in your own domi-
 “ nions, but also by promoting and extending it among
 “ the *Heathen* and *Infidels*, in the most remote parts
 “ of the world. Therefore, after having heartily
 “ thanked God Almighty for inclining your Majesty’s
 “ heart toward so holy a design, and with the pro-
 “ foundest submission acknowledged your Majesty’s
 “ high favour toward us your unworthy servants;
 “ may it please your Majesty to accept of the follow-
 “ ing account of the state of that work, in which we
 “ are employ’d.

“ We the Missionaries, on our part are endeavour-
 “ ing, according to the measure of the grace God
 “ Almighty has imparted to us, plentifully to spread
 “ abroad

“ abroad the seed of the Word of God among the
“ *Heathens* in their own language, there being no other
“ means for touching the hearts of heathens, in order
“ to their conversion. We also maintain *Indians* to
“ assist us as catechists, for which function we first
“ prepare them, by instructing them in the saving
“ Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and then send them to pro-
“ pagate it among the Heathens. To such places
“ whither the instruction of the Gospel by word of
“ mouth cannot reach, we send our printed *Malaba-*
“ *rian* books, which are read in these parts by many
“ of all sorts and degrees. As we are perfectly sen-
“ sible, that to promote and perpetuate such an un-
“ dertaking, a solid foundation must be laid, by trans-
“ lating the holy Scriptures, and publishing other in-
“ structive books in the language of the country, we
“ did a good while ago finish and publish a transla-
“ tion of the *New-Testament*, and are now labouring
“ with great application, in translating the *Old Testa-*
“ *ment* into the *Malabarian* and *Portugueze* languages :
“ besides, we compose every year some books for in-
“ structing of the Heathens, containing the funda-
“ mentals of the Christian Religion ; for better pub-
“ lication of which, the printing press we have re-
“ ceived from our benefactors in *England*, is of great
“ use to us. That our printing press may always be
“ provided with a sufficient quantity of letters, we en-
“ tertain in the mission persons for cutting molds, and
“ casting letters, as also for binding books, being fur-
“ nished every year with the necessary tools and ma-
“ terials from *England*, by the laudable Society for
“ propagating Christian Knowledge. To supply the
“ want of paper, we have been at great expence in
“ erecting a paper-mill here. And so under the invo-
“ cation of the name of God, we plentifully dispense,
“ both by word of mouth and writing, in this Heathen
“ Country, the Gospel ; which makes a happy im-
“ pression on the minds of many of the inhabitants.
“ Some indeed, particularly their *Bramans* or Priests,
“ gainsay and scoff ; others come to a sense of the
“ abomi-

“ abominations of idolatry, and leave off worshipping
“ their idols; others are brought to better principles,
“ and shew in their discourse and writing, that they
“ have got a greater light than their forefathers: others
“ again give full assent to all the truths of Christia-
“ nity, but out of a worldly consideration wave Bap-
“ tism and the name of Christians. But some break
“ thro’ all difficulties, and subduing their Reason to
“ the obedience of Faith, resolutely profess Christia-
“ nity; these are for some time instructed by us and
“ our catechists, and afterwards, when they give true
“ signs of repentance and conversion, are received into
“ the bosom of the Christian Church, by holy Bap-
“ tism. These, who are become members of our con-
“ gregation, we are instructing with all diligence, that
“ Jesus Christ may be framed within them; our pri-
“ vate exercises with them are daily catechisings, by
“ sending our catechists to their habitations, to enquire
“ into their way of life, to examine them upon the
“ catechism, to pray with them, and to make a report
“ to us the Missionaries, of what passes among them.
“ To exercise them in praying, we have set hours
“ thrice a week, in which prayers are read to them in
“ private. We give free occasion to every one of
“ them, to communicate to us their concerns. Our
“ public exercises consist in preaching to them, every
“ *Sunday* in the morning, a sermon in the *Malabarian*
“ language, and another in the *Portugueze*; and in
“ the afternoon we catechise in both languages. Be-
“ sides, we preach a sermon in the *High Dutch* for the
“ *Europeans*: every *Wednesday* we catechise at church
“ in *Portugueze*; and every *Friday* in *Malabarian*. As
“ to the children of either sex that belong to our con-
“ gregation, we instruct them all in our schools, in
“ the principles of Christianity, reading, writing, and
“ other useful knowledge; they are maintained in
“ every thing at our charge. We have erected a se-
“ minary for such as we design for the service of the
“ Gospel, to be furnished thence with proper cate-
“ chists, preceptors and clerks. Such boys as want

“ necessary capacity, we put to learn handy-crafts.
 “ We have also established schools, one in this town,
 “ and another in a populous borough not far off, where
 “ they are instructed by Christian tutors, and have full
 “ allowance, except victuals and clothes, which their
 “ parents find them.

“ The Lord having so blessed our labours, that the
 “ new-planted congregation increases every year; the
 “ first church which we built became too narrow,
 “ upon which we found it necessary to build one more
 “ spacious; and it pleased God to furnish us with
 “ means to finish it in two years time; and on the 11th
 “ of *October* last, it was consecrated in the name of
 “ the Holy Trinity: and we are now constantly
 “ preaching in it in three languages. We have like-
 “ wise, at the desire of the *English* who live on this
 “ coast, erected two schools, one at *Fort St. George*,
 “ and another at *Fort St. David*. The present Gover-
 “ nour of *Fort St. George* is a special friend to the mis-
 “ sion, and has lately remitted to it a considerable
 “ present. The rest of our friends here have cheer-
 “ fully supplied our wants this year. The Lord, whose
 “ work it is, guide us for the future by his divine
 “ providence, and stir up in *Europe* many promoters
 “ among persons of all ranks, that, in these last times,
 “ the salvation of the Heathens may be sought with
 “ earnestness, and their conversion promoted by the
 “ whole Christian Church. That our most merciful
 “ God may crown your Majesty with all prosperity, is
 “ the devout prayers of,

Most serene, and most

gracious King and Lord,

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most obedient Servants,

Tranquebar,
 24 November,
 5 December,
 1718.

Bartholomew Ziegenblg,
 John Ernest Grundle ra

Thus

Thus I have given an abstract of what offers from printed books and pamphlets, concerning the *Propagation of Christianity by the Danish Missionaries*. I shall conclude this subject, by observing a passage or two from the printed *News-Papers*.

By letters to *Hall in Saxony* *, we have advice from the *East-Indies*, by way of *England*, of the three persons who were lately sent thither, to supply the Protestant mission in the *Danish* colony at *Tranquebar*, on the coast of *Malabar*. Their names are *M. Schulze*, *M. Dahl*, and *M. Kistenmacher*; they set out from hence for *England*, on the 25th of *November* 1718; their letters are dated at *Madras*, a place situate on the said coast, the 31st of *July* 1719, containing an account, that having sailed from *Deal* the 19th of *March* of that same year, they arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope*, on the 4th of *June* following, and at *Madras* on the 25th of *July*, 18 weeks after their sailing from *England*. At *Madras* they received a letter from *M. Grundler*, one of the missionaries at *Tranquebar*, acquainting them, that *M. Ziegenbalg* his colleague died there on the 23d of *February* 1719, and was much lamented, being a person who had acquired exact knowledge in the *Malabarian* language, and had done great services for promoting Christianity in these parts, as we have already heard.

By other letters from *Malabar* of *October* 21st, 1719, we are informed †, that for these two years past, the poor *Malabarians* have been afflicted with war, famine and pestilence; but have not suffered very much by the former. *For as we are at the extremity of the Empire of the Mogol, we have been little concerned in the revolutions that happened, and which still continue.*—*The Famine and Plague have been more fatal to us than the civil war, and abundance of people have been swept away, which has given us an opportunity to shew our zeal. We have baptized a considerable number of Malabarians, but do not think fit to tell how many, that you may not*

Z 3

surmize

* *Edinburgh Courant*, Number 216.

† *Ibidem*, Number 231.

surmize we follow the example of the Jesuits, who endeavour to deceive mankind, and impose upon them a world of fabulous stories; and we do not design to claim an honour which is due to God alone. We only plant and water, it is God who gives the increase. The Jesuits continue to occasion great disturbances in China; they write, their mission will be lost in a short time; which I easily believe: but they flatter themselves, that if other missionaries are expelled, they will find means to return thither themselves: they continue along these coasts to allow their proselytes the use of the superstitions condemned at Rome, because no body can oppose them with success.

I have now deduced what has been done towards the Propagation of Christianity in these last ages, by the English, by the Dutch, and by the Danish Missionaries, down to the present time; and shall conclude this Chapter, with observing some other good things a doing in other parts of the world, and also at home, for propagating and advancing our Religion.

If we look into *Muscovy*, we have lately printed, *A Description of the Manners and Customs of the Ostiaks*, a nation that extends to the *Frigid Zone*, in the *Russian* dominions, by *John Barnard Muller* *; where we have an account of the state of the kingdom of *Siberia*, and of the original of the *Ostiaks*, and of their manners and way of life, and absurd kind of heathenish idolatry, which I need not here particularly insist upon. But our author † says, “ That Father *Philotheus* being made
“ Metropolitan or Archbishop of *Tobolsky*, the Me-
“ tropolis of *Siberia*, found himself actuated by a zeal
“ of converting the neighbouring nations to the Chri-
“ stian Faith. Accordingly he sent missionaries to the
“ *Mingrelians*, and to their high priest *Kutuchta*, with
“ two of his own servants, who were to study the
“ language and letters of that nation. This *Kutuchta*
“ is

* See the present State of *Muscovy*, Vol. II. pag. 44. to 92. printed in 1723.

† Ibidem, Vol. II. pag. 86, & seq.

“ is in high veneration among the nations of *Mingrelia, Contasch, Ojuka and Bucharia* ; he is their
 “ Pope or High Priest, always attended by a number
 “ of armed men, and has under him all other *Lamas*
 “ or Priests.—— He has no fixed residence, but with
 “ his fine tents, and a considerable guard of soldiers,
 “ removes where he likes best ; he carries his idols,
 “ particularly those that are in greatest repute with the
 “ people, along with him, and places them in separate
 “ tents.—— The laudable design of the metropolitan
 “ had not all the intended success ; for his
 “ advanced age made him resolve to resign his Arch-
 “ bishopric, and retire into the monastery of *Kioff*,
 “ where he had spent his younger years : but the go-
 “ vernour of *Siberia, Matsei Petrowitz Gagarin*, so
 “ far prevailed with him, that he promised to continue
 “ for some time longer in the employment, on condi-
 “ tion, *That he might have leave to convert the Ostiac*
 “ *nation to the Christian Religion, pursuant to the inten-*
 “ *tions his Czarish Majesty had expressed long before.*
 “ Accordingly he went, attended by several clergy-
 “ men, to the places where the chief idols stood, and
 “ which were most frequented by the people. He re-
 “ presented to them the vanity of the idolatrous wor-
 “ ship of wooden images, and directed them how to
 “ adore the true living God. ~~But these~~ people, pre-
 “ possessed with the antiquity of that service, opposed
 “ all the Metropolitan’s endeavours, alledging, *That*
 “ *their ancestors had time out of mind, maintained the*
 “ *worship of their Sheitans, and fared well by it ; that*
 “ *as for themselves, they were from their childhood*
 “ *brought up to it, and were unwilling to change it for*
 “ *another, which would make them believe the Souls of*
 “ *their ancestors to be in a state of damnation, or at best*
 “ *in a very dubious condition.* So that at first, they
 “ seemed resolved rather to venture upon the last ex-
 “ tremities, than to renounce the Religion and Customs
 “ of their Forefathers. The beginning of the Reforma-
 “ tion was made in the year 1712, about *Samaroff*,
 “ where they had the *Staryk Obshy* or their Fish Idol.

“ The people at first were very unwilling to part with
 “ their reputed Deity, who had supplied them and
 “ their forefathers with fishes in abundance, and whom,
 “ in their opinion, they could, by ill usage and re-
 “ proaches, hector into a compliance with their de-
 “ mands. However, by degrees, they gave ear to the
 “ old Metropolitan’s reasonings, and the idol was
 “ burnt. This was no sooner done, but they shewed
 “ a repentance for what they had done, and a desire
 “ of returning to their ancient worship again. This
 “ was augmented by a deceitful report spread by
 “ some, who pretended they had seen the Ghost of
 “ the idol in the shape of a white swan, rising into
 “ the air out of the flames. But as the metropolitan
 “ and others contradicted that fiction, and those who
 “ had forged it durst not appear to support it, the poor
 “ misled people began to give way for their better
 “ instruction. Those who lived in more remote parts,
 “ shewed still greater obstinacy in forsaking their ido-
 “ latry. Some priests of their *Sheitans*, were very
 “ active in countenancing the sticklers for the ancient
 “ worship, by making them believe, *That the idol*
 “ *foretold what would happen, eight days before the*
 “ *metropolitan’s arrival, and warned them to withstand*
 “ *the attempts of the Christians, which he would certainly*
 “ *baffle and disappoint, by his powerful protection.* When
 “ the Metropolitan arrived among the *Gurtees* of *Sbor-*
 “ *bow*, where they had another such Idol, he found
 “ the people disposed to stand all extremities, in main-
 “ taining their Religion. However, the pious zeal
 “ and convincing arguments of that man, were of
 “ such weight with these people, that they also con-
 “ sented to the burning of their idol. There was one
 “ thing which very much contributed to the conversion
 “ of those Heathens who live about the monastery of
 “ *Kotskoy* (where there also live a few *Russians*) viz.
 “ The example of one of their *Kneeses*, *Alatscho* by
 “ name, who derived his descent from the family of
 “ the ancient Governours of this nation. The Metro-
 “ politan represented to him the example of the *Rus-*

“ *ſian* nation, who had likewise but lately been idolaters, but were converted to Chriſtianity, and brought to deſtroy their idols in the time of *Vladimir*, who reſided at *Kiow*. This inſtance made ſuch an impreſſion on *Alatſcho*, that he not only received Baptiſm, but alſo reſolved to take a journey to *Kioff*, to view the bodies of the ſaints that are repoſited there, free from corruption, in order to be informed of the truth of the thing ; and accordingly, immediately after he was baptized, he ſet out for that city. The ſeaſon being ſpent during theſe tranſactions, the rigour of the winter obliged the Archbiſhop to return, having had no further ſucceſs in his deſign, than that he burnt many idols, and initiated about 10 or 11 ſouls to Chriſtianity, by Baptiſm. I muſt defer, till another opportunity, to inform the reader, how in the years 1713 and 1714, about 5000 *Oſtiacs* were baptized ; it happening by a particular providence, that the greater part of that nation were then aſſembled ; the gathering of whom out of the foreſts and deſarts, would otherwiſe have been a work of ten years at leaſt.”

The above account of *John Bernard Muller*, tho’ printed this preſent year, yet it was writ originally by the author, a *Swediſh* captain of dragoons, in his captivity, in the year 1716. I take the following paragraph of a *News-Paper*, to be a continuation of the ſame conversion of theſe northern Heathens. By *Letters from Petersburg*, of April 11, 1721 *, our ſenate have received letters from the metropolitan *Theodorus*, dated at *Tobolsky* the capital of *Siberia*, importing, that above 40000 *Tartars* have abjured *Paganism*, and been baptized by him and others of the clergy. That moreover, they have pulled down their own temples, broke their idols, and built upwards of twenty Churches, in which divine ſervice is performed by *Ruſſian* prieſts. Upon theſe advices, our conſiſtory have appointed a Biſhop to go and aſſiſt in confirming theſe new converts, and endeavour to make more proſelytes.

We

* *Evening-Poſt*, from May 2. to May 4. 1721.

We are also informed of several pieces of Reformation, which the Czar of *Russia*, *Peter I.* is endeavouring to introduce into his large dominions, which in process of time may prove means to advance Christianity.

The author of *the present State of Russia*, printed in 1723. says *, *That there are Churches in all places in Russia, but as there is no preaching, nor any schools in the country, the common people are very ignorant in point of Religion, and still more so, as to reading and writing. But the present Czar, who has at this time school and writing-masters, for the instruction of the youth in the towns, is resolved to do the like in the villages, and to banish the former ignorance from among his subjects.* In another place he observes †, *That the Prince Gagarin took notice, that considering the vast extent of the Russian Empire, and that many parts of it are almost inaccessible, it was no wonder, that so many of these Heathen Nations remain unconverted: however, that his Czarish Majesty had made already a beginning of their conversion, and was resolved to continue in his zeal for propagating the Christian Religion all over his Dominions.* The same author says, *This was confirmed to me by some of the clergy at Moscow, who told me, That two years ago, by the Czar's orders, several persons were singled out from among them, and sent in the capacity of priests and school-masters, to divers pagan nations, especially the Ostiaks; which laudable undertaking had in several parts already met with the intended success.*

The same author observes the great improvements the Czar had made in woollen and linen manufactories, in powder-mills, rope-yards, founderies for guns, &c. and more particularly in fine paper-mills ‡, and a handsome printing-house, where they have begun to print in *it* weekly News-papers in the Russian Language, by the Czar's orders, who will have his subjects get an insight into the affairs of the world; and it is with this view, that four monks

* Vol. I. pag. 121.

† Ibidem, Vol. I. pag. 173.

‡ Ibidem, Vol. I. pag. 181—183.

monks in Prague, who are well versed in the Sclavonian tongue, are now actually translating from the High-Dutch, The great Historical Dictionary of Budæus. The translation of Puffendorf's Introduction to History; the Colloquia, or familiar Dialogues, of Erasmus of Rotterdam; Arnaud's true Christianity; Commenius Orbis Pictus, and other useful books, were printed three years ago.

And what, in my opinion, is of greater concern than all these; the Czar, as we are informed, has lately ordered the Bible to be printed in the Russian Language, that copies thereof may be had in every family; that every person should learn to read the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and, that none be allowed to marry, but those who can read the same. And by letters from Hamburg of December 12th, 1722, we are told, that advices from Petersburg say, that printed Bibles have been distributed to every family there, and the like will be done throughout all Russia.

In the year 1717, when the Czar was at Paris, some Doctors of the Sorbonne, or Faculty of Divinity of the University there, delivered to him a project in Latin, of uniting the two Churches of Rome and Russia, by observing a certain moderation on both sides *. But the impossibility of bringing about such an union is plain to every one who is acquainted with the doctrine of both Religions, and the maxims of the present government in Russia. To admit the Roman Catholic Religion, would be opening a door to endless disputes, which could not fail of disturbing that civil as well as ecclesiastical tranquillity which has been hitherto maintained in Russia, and endangering the security which the Czar has procured to himself, with respect to the Russian Clergy, as well as their blind dependants the peasants. Neither is it probable, that the Czar, after having suppressed the patriarchal authority in Russia, will subject himself and his dominions to a far greater dependency, either on the Pope, or on a general Council.

The

The Czar, in all his Reformation, seems rather to come nearer to the side of the Protestants; for the pilgrimages to the bones and reliques of Saints, begins to grow very much out of use in *Russia* *, since the Czar himself does not so much mind that religious Ceremony. His Majesty also endeavours to bring off, by his example, his *Russians* from their rigorous fasts, considering this sort of devotion has proved pernicious to an infinite number of his soldiers, seamen and labourers.

We are also informed by letters from *Hamburg*, of *January* 2d, 1723, The Czar has given permission to Protestants, to build churches and schools for their own service; and has likewise declared, that the *Russians* are at liberty to embrace the Protestant Religion, if they please: Than which he could do nothing more unpopular, the *Muscovites* being as warm zealots for their Religion, as any under the sun.

What advantage may be gained to Christianity, and to the ruin of *Mahometanism* and Infidelity, by the conquests of this great Potentate in *Persia*, time will discover. Only we pray God, they may be improved to the advancement of our holy Christian Religion, which he professeth.

By the public letters from *Vienna*, of *December* 14th, 1721, we are informed from *Constantinople*, that the *Sultan* has caused the *Bible* to be printed in the *Turkish* Language, to be confronted with the *Alcoran*: which makes the *Musti* or High *Ottoman* Priest the more uneasy, because the *Grand Seignior* will allow a Church and Chappel to be built in the suburbs of *Pera*, for the use of the *Catholics*; as also a college for the study of sciences in the *Latin*, *Greek* and *German* tongues, to which even the *Turks* may resort. May *Dagon* fall before the Ark, and may all these things be improved for the progress of Christianity over the World!

There are other things doing in *Europe*, which may tend to the advancement of Christianity. In *Germany*, a great number of copies of the *New-Testament* have been

* Present State of *Russia*, Vol. 1. pag. 237.

been printed in the vulgar *Greek* or *Romaic*, with the authentic *Greek* on the other side, and sent as a present to the poor *Greek* Churches under *Mahometan* oppression. But I shall have occasion in the last chapter of this history, to take notice of the excellent means of education in the University of *Hall* in *Saxony*, and other useful things doing there: and therefore, shall now look into some things doing at home for advancing our holy Religion.

By an extract of several letters, printed at *London* in the year 1721, now before me, we have a proposal from *England*, for printing the *New Testament* and *Psalter* in the *Arabic* language, for the benefit of poor Christians in *Palestine*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and other Eastern Countries.

There are several considerations offered in these letters, to shew the advantage and necessity of so pious an undertaking, which deserve room here. Particularly, Mr. *Solomon Negri*, native of *Damascus* in *Syria*, in his letter to a member of the society at *London*, for promoting *Christian Knowledge*, dated *March* 28th, 1720, advances these reasons for it. “ *First*, the want of printing-
 “ presses in the Eastern Countries makes books very
 “ scarce and dear, much beyond what the poor Chri-
 “ stians can afford to purchase them at, having much
 “ ado to pay the tributes and impositions laid on them
 “ by the government they live under, and to supply
 “ the common necessities of life: So that there are
 “ but very few in a condition to buy books for their in-
 “ struction and spiritual nourishment. *Secondly*, the
 “ few printed copies either of the whole *New Testament*,
 “ or any part of it, are very hard to be got in these
 “ parts of the world, and these also at a very dear rate.
 “ —The two editions at *Rome* have had little success,
 “ by reason of the cuts and figures therein, which the
 “ Eastern Nations have an aversion to; and by reason
 “ of the badness of the impression, and meanness of the
 “ language, being even indecent in some places. *Third-*
 “ *ly*, the excellency of the *Arabic* language is un-
 “ doubted, in what light soever you please to consider
 it;

“ it; this is the language the *Alcoran* is wrote in; it
 “ extends to all those countries where the *Mahometan*
 “ Religion is professed, and even beyond these coun-
 “ tries, among many of the heathen; it is the com-
 “ mon language of the greatest part of *Africa*, of a
 “ considerable part of *Asia*; and in the *Turkish* domi-
 “ nions where it is not generally spoke, it is neverthe-
 “ less taught in schools, and studied by men of letters;
 “ as *Latin* is in *Europe*, where also it is read in several
 “ Universities.—But, *says he*, I’ll only mention those
 “ countries where the greatest number of Christians are
 “ settled; namely, *Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Ara-*
 “ *bia, and Egypt*. In all these countries there are great
 “ numbers and communities of Christians, to whom
 “ such an edition will be useful, as the *Arabians* of the
 “ *Greek Church*, commonly called *Melchites*, who,
 “ being superior in number to all the rest, ought to be
 “ principally regarded; the *Syrians* or *Eutychians*, the
 “ *Nestorians, Maronites, Armenians, Coptes*, and even
 “ a small remnant of the ancientest *Nazarenes*. All
 “ these, tho’ they celebrate their liturgy in the lan-
 “ guage used by the respective churches, yet they ge-
 “ nerally understand, speak, and write *Arabic*. He
 “ adds, the best method would be to reserve part of
 “ the *Edition at London*, and send from time to time a
 “ number of copies bound, with a suitable recommen-
 “ dation to the *English Consul at Aleppo*, which of all
 “ cities is the best situated for dispersing them: And
 “ the said Consul, with the assistance of his chaplain,
 “ who will readily charge himself with a commission
 “ so agreeable to his character, and so charitable, ho-
 “ nourable and glorious to the *British* nation, will
 “ give them to those for whom they are designed.”

Mr. *Ayerst*, Chaplain to Sir *Robert Sutton*, late Am-
 bassador at the *Porte*, adds, “ The *Turks* will not
 “ hinder such a *New Testament* from being dispersed.”

Mr. *Samuel Lisle*, some time Chaplain to the Honoura-
 ble *Turkey Company*, adds, “ I am very glad, that the
 “ Society have taken it into their consideration, to
 “ assist their Christian Brethren in the performance of

“ so

“ so necessary a duty ; for without some such assistance,
 “ I scarce see how ’tis possible for them to have the
 “ Scriptures in their own hands—And will leave you,
 “ Sir, to judge what ignorance, corruptions, and su-
 “ perstitions are like to follow upon such a want.” Se-
 veral other persons, who had a particular knowledge of
 these parts of the world, confirm the former accounts
 of the usefulness of this work.

After all, ’tis propos’d to print eight thousand copies
 of the *New Testament* and *Psalter*, in *Arabic*, with a
 new letter, on good paper, if the fund for doing it will
 reach to so great a number ; and eight thousand copies,
 at six shillings the copy bound, including all charges,
 will come to two thousand four hundred pounds. This
 fund is to be rais’d by a charitable collection, and ’tis a
 very noble design, and a laudable way of extending
 Christian Charity, to prevent the ignorance, supersti-
 tion, and misery of such great numbers of Christians, in
 so many large cities and countries, by giving them the
Holy Scriptures in a language known to them ; they
 being willing to read, and ready to receive instruction,
 and cannot enjoy that privilege but by the way here
 propos’d. And we may now observe with pleasure,
 that this generous undertaking of printing the *New*
Testament and *Psalter* in *Arabic* is accomplished in
England, and 2000 copies of the *New Testament*, and
 4000 of the *Psalter*, have been already dispers’d among
 these poor Christians, to their great comfort and spiri-
 tual advantage.

In *Scotland*, we have had no great opportunities hi-
 therto for sending missions to promote Christianity
 among Heathens in the remote parts of the world ;
 but the flourishing state of our Universities and Schools
 of learning, makes it evident, that if youths proper
 for such purposes do offer, they may have religious and
 excellent education among us. The present history is
 humbly offer’d as a testimony of a hearty and sincere
 concern for the success of this important affair. I don’t
 know if in any place, even the common people are
 more generally acquainted with the principles of Reli-
 gion,

gion, and have a more sober practice than with us; where Ministers of the Gospel, not only by their frequent preaching, but also by their yearly visiting families, catechising the members of their congregations, and exact discipline, do constantly endeavour to promote Reformation and Christian Knowledge: Our several Church-Judicatories, Presbyteries, Synods, and national Assemblies, exciting, directing and supporting us in the performance of these important duties.

And particularly, the care, diligence, and success of the *Society in Scotland for propagating knowledge in the Highlands and Islands*, deserves to be noticed among those good things doing in *Europe* for promoting Christianity. The Society was erected by Letters Patent of our late Sovereign Queen *Anne*, in the year 1709, and has been promoted and encouraged by the 6th Act of our national Assembly in that year, and by many subsequent acts and recommendations to the present time; it has been supported by the bounty of pious and charitable people: all which has been faithfully applied by the administrators. So as at present their fund, by the blessing of God, is increased to 4800 *Pounds Sterling* *, besides a considerable mortification that is life-rented. With which stock they maintain 59 Charity-schools in the *Highlands and Islands*, at which no less than 1444 boys, and 568 girls, in all 2012 are taught to read, write, to practise arithmetic, to sing the common tunes, and to understand the principles of the Reformed Religion. Tho' at the beginning parents seemed averse from sending their children to learn, yet now they strive who shall have their children best taught; and even servants, both male and female, leave their services for a time, to have the benefit of instruction at the Society-schools: yea, popish parents have petition'd the Society for the benefit of these schools to their children, and bound themselves under a penalty by a written obligation, to send their children thereto; so that now many children of popish parents both learn
our

* See Recommendation by the Commission of the General Assembly at *Edinburgh*, November 14. 1722.

our Catechism, and read other Protestant Books, and come to Church. Tho' popish priests and other zealous exerted themselves to the utmost to defeat the Society's pious design, by spreading groundless falsehoods, as if those bred at the Society's schools were designed for the plantations, yet they are now satisfied to the contrary. There seems now in most places an earnest desire after Christian Knowledge, so that the Society's schools are not sufficient to instruct all the different places in the *Highlands* and *Islands*.

The national Assembly of this Church having, in the year 1715, recommended a voluntary collection for buying Books, and maintaining itinerant schools in remote glens and islands, where popery and ignorance most abounds; upon that fund some thousands of *Bibles*, great numbers of *New Testaments*, *Catechisms*, *Confessions of Faith*, Books of Devotion, of Instruction to beginners, and Books against Popery, have been distributed, till that collection was exhausted, and at the desire of the Society a new one is granted in the year 1722. The progress and success of this Society is the more desirable, that it banishes *Ignorance*, *Atheism*, *Popery* and *Impiety*, that did too much abound in the *Highlands* and *Isles* of *Scotland*, and where their poverty and rudeness made other means ineffectual; but now we hope they'll be better Subjects and better Christians. Yea, in the island of *Hirta*, alias *St. Kilda*, at a considerable distance from the western coast of *Scotland*, the inhabitants were not so much as reformed from *Heathenism*, 'till in the year 1710, the Society gave a commission to *Alexander Buchan* to be schoolmaster in that remote island, and he was also ordained by the presbytery of *Edinburgh* to be minister there, the inhabitants having scarce ever heard the Gospel preached before he came among them. They who desire to be further informed concerning this Society, may read a pamphlet, entitled, *Account of the Rise, Constitution, and Management of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge*, printed at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1720, and the recommendation above-cited.

May our gracious God bless and crown these and other good things that are a doing, not only in *Europe*, but in any other part of the known world, for the advancing of our Redeemer's Kingdom, and the ruin of ignorance and infidelity with great success, and may his name have the glory !

C H. A P. IX.

Of further Means to be used for converting the Heathens, and propagating Christianity ; with Arguments to promote the same.

HAVING confirmed the truth of the Christian Religion, explained the state of Heathenish Idolatry from the Creation of the World to the Birth of *Christ*, discovered the vanity and wickedness of *Paganism*, and drawn down the history of the conversion of Heathens, from the infancy of the Christian Church to the present day : there remains but a small part of our design now to be considered. The sad view we have had from the seventh chapter of this work, of the present state of the *Gentile* World, under black darkness, and the servitude of Satan ; love to perishing souls, and desire to advance the glory of *Christ*, may stir up the hearts of zealous Christians to use their utmost endeavours to turn sinners *from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God ; that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them which are sanctified.*

To propose proper methods for converting the Pagan World to the Christian Religion, is a matter of great difficulty, and of vast consequence. The blessing of God, and the pouring out of his spirit from on high, are necessary to turn this wilderness into a fruitful field ; but we are to expect this blessing upon the use of the means proper for gaining the end. Therefore,

In the *First place*, We ought fervently to pray for the conversion of the Heathen World to the Kingdom of *Christ*. The *Psalmist* says, *Prayer shall be made for him continually* *; that is, *Christ's* Subjects shall pray for the enlargement and prosperity of his Kingdom. When the disciples joined together in prayer for the Kingdom of *Christ*, it is said †, *The place was shaken where they were assembled together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost*. The Kingdom of our Redeemer is not advanced by external force, but by inward power and virtue. *Not by Might, nor by Power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts* ‖. Therefore he has taught us to pray, *Thy Kingdom come*. If we be unconcerned for the Kingdom of our blessed Lord, our Prayers are as good as none, and can never be acceptable at the Throne of Grace. The promises of the enlargement of the *New-Testament* Church are many, and the time is near when they shall be fully accomplished: we ought then every one of us, in our station, to throw in our mite for the conversion of the Heathen World, not only by frequent prayers to the Throne of Grace upon ordinary occasions, but also by joining in solemn days of humiliation and prayer for that end.

Secondly, Neglect of precious souls, covetousness, and a profane life, ought to be carefully shunned by those who are employ'd in this work of *Propagating Christianity among the Heathen*; and more particularly, no methods of force or cruelty ought to be used, but rather all proper means to convince them of the excellency of the Christian Religion. The *Spanish* cruelties at the conquest of *America* and the *West-Indies*, are notorious all the world over; by these the poor Heathens got bad impressions of Christianity, and were hindered from cheerfully embracing of it. I have not before insisted upon this piece of history, therefore allow me here to take some notice of it.

* Psalm 72. 15.

‖ Zech. 4. 6.

† Acts 4. 31.

Don Bartholomew de las Casas Bishop of *Chiapa*, who himself was an eye witness, has given a particular relation of these cruelties. His book was writ in *Spanish* in the reign of *Charles V.* and is done into *English* under this title, *An Account of the first Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America*, containing the most exact relation hitherto published, of their unparalleled cruelties on the *Indians*. The copy before me is printed at *London* in the year 1699. I shall cite a few passages from it. This author speaking of *Hispaniola*, the first isle the *Spaniards* seized, the extent whereof is about 600 leagues, says *, “ The
 “ Almighty seems to have inspired these people with
 “ a meekness and softness of humour like that of lambs,
 “ and the *Spaniards*, who have given them so much
 “ trouble, and fallen upon them so fiercely, resemble
 “ savage tygers, wolves and lions, when enraged with
 “ pressing hunger. They applied themselves forty
 “ years together, wholly to massacring the poor
 “ wretches that inhabited the islands, putting them to
 “ all kinds of unheard of torments and punishments.—
 “ Infomuch, that this island, which before the arrival
 “ of the *Europeans*, contained about three millions of
 “ people, is now reduced to less than three hundred.
 “ The island of *Cuba*, the length of which is equal to
 “ the distance between *Valladolid* and *Rome*, is entirely
 “ a desert, and destitute of its inhabitants, and no-
 “ thing but ruins to be seen in it. The isles of *St. John*
 “ and *Jamaica* have met with the like treatment; they
 “ were fertile and populous, but are rendered desolate
 “ and waste by the like means. The islands near *Cuba*
 “ and *Hispaniola*, on the north side, are 60 in number,
 “ which are commonly called, *The Isles of Giants*, of
 “ which the least fruitful abounds more with plenty
 “ than the Royal Garden of *Seville*; but they are de-
 “ stitute of inhabitants, tho’ it is as wholesome an air
 “ as men can breath in. When the *Spaniards* first
 “ landed in these isles, there were above 500,000 souls
 “ in them; they cut the throats of a good part of
 “ these,

* *Spanish Voyages, and Cruelties*, pag. 3, & seq.

“ these, and carried away the rest by force to make
“ them work in the mines of *Hispaniola*. When some
“ pious persons embarked to visit these islands after
“ the ravages the *Spaniards* had made in them, they
“ found but eleven people left there. Above 30 isles
“ near that of *St. John* are entirely depopulated, tho’
“ of a vast extent; so that there is scarce one inhabi-
“ tant to be found in them.

“ As for the continent, ’tis certain, and what I
“ myself (*says my author*) know to be true, that the
“ *Spaniards* have ruined ten Kingdoms there bigger
“ than all *Spain*, by the commission of all sorts of
“ barbarities and unheard-of cruelties. They have
“ driven away or killed all the inhabitants; so that
“ these Kingdoms are desolate to this day, and reduced
“ to a most deplorable condition, tho’ this was formerly
“ the best peopled country in the world. We dare
“ assert, without fear of incurring the reproach of ex-
“ aggerating, that in the space of these 40 years, in
“ which the *Spaniards* exercised their intolerable ty-
“ ranny in this new World, they have unjustly put to
“ death above 12 millions of people, counting men,
“ women and children; and it may be affirmed, with-
“ out injury to truth, upon a just calculation, that,
“ during this space of time, above fifty millions have
“ died in these countries.—— They had so little re-
“ gard to the Salvation of their Souls, that they would
“ not give themselves the trouble so much as to speak
“ of the *Christian* Faith and Sacraments to these num-
“ berless multitudes of men and women, whom they
“ sacrificed to their ambition and tyrannies. That
“ which aggravates the enormity of their crimes is,
“ that these poor *Indians* had offered them no injury;
“ but on the contrary, gave them as much honour as
“ if they had been sent from Heaven, till wearied
“ out by repeated massacres, and constrained to be-
“ take themselves to arms, contrary to their inclina-
“ tion. But the weapons they used * were neither
“ capable of defending them, nor offending their

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“ enemies

* *Spanish Voyages and Cruelties*, pag. 7.

“ enemies to any purpose, and were more like those
 “ children use to play with, than such as are fit for
 “ soldiers to use in war. The *Spaniards* mounted on
 “ horses, armed with launces and swords, passed thro’
 “ cities and towns, sparing neither age nor sex, killed
 “ women and children, ripped up women with child,
 “ that root and branch might be destroyed together,
 “ dashed the children against rocks, cast them into
 “ rivers, diverting themselves with this brutish sport.
 “ They set up gibbets, and hanged thirteen of these
 “ poor creatures in honour of *Christ* and his Apostles,
 “ (as the *Spaniards* blasphemously expressed them-
 “ selves.”) But I am not going to make a full reci-
 tal of these cruelties, which our author owns to be in-
 credible *.

“ These *Spanish* cruelties began after the death of
 “ Queen *Isabella*, who died in the year 1504. The
 “ *Spaniards* took the *Indians* to be servants, and pro-
 “ posed to instruct them in the *Roman Catholic Reli-*
 “ *gion*, but committed them to the most ignorant,
 “ cruel and covetous of mankind †. Were burning
 “ multitudes in great houses, killing them with greedy
 “ dogs, massacring, robbing and spoiling, proper
 “ methods to persuade the poor *Indians* of the excel-
 “ lency of the Christian Religion? In the Kingdom
 “ of *Yucatan*, some *Franciscan* Friars preached with
 “ zeal and success, till 18 *Spanish* troopers and 12
 “ foot soldiers brought there a number of idols, and
 “ sold them to the people at great prices : whereupon
 “ the *Indians* said to the Friars, *Why have ye deceived*
 “ *us by your false promises* || ? *Did not you assure us the*
 “ *Spaniards should no more invade and oppress us ? Why*
 “ *have you burnt our Gods, to bring us strange Gods out*
 “ *of other countries ? Are these better or mightier than*
 “ *our own ?* After this the Friars thought fit to leave
 “ the country, and the *Indians* were abandoned to
 “ their former darkness and idolatry.” The Bishop
 of *St. Martha* wrote to the King of *Spain*, telling
 him,

* *Spanish Voyages and Cruelties*, pag. 15, and 92.

† *Ibidem*, pag. 15.

|| *Ibidem*, pag. 58.

him *, *I am necessitated to let your Majesty know, that the Spaniards who are come into this new world live rather like Devils than Christians; they neither serve God nor the King, they violate all the laws of God and Men with impunity. Nothing can be a greater hindrance to the conversion of the Indians, than the ill treatment and persecution they make them suffer continually. These people naturally love peace and quiet; but the barbarous usage they meet with from the Spaniards, inspires them with horror against all Christians, whom they therefore call in their language Yares, that is to say, Devils.—— While the Indians see both officers and soldiers commit such detestable crimes, they believe the laws of Christianity authorises such inhuman actions, and that neither God nor our King forbids them.—— It seems absolutely necessary your Majesty stop the course of these robbers by some exemplary punishment, and that your Majesty declare, you will have none of their services, who so highly dishonour God and Religion.*

Who can tell how the *Spaniards* broke promise and faith to the poor *Indians*? Killed them, and carried them away into slavery, when they had promised them peace and protection? After the *Indian Kings* and Great Men had given immense and incredible sums in Gold and Jewels to spare their lives, they burnt them to death with incredible tortures: the exact recital of which, says our author, would fill the minds of all that read this history with too much horror †, and yet he has wrote a whole book full of them. After all, he says ‡, “ I shall add no more; that which is most deplorable is, that the *Spaniards* take no care to speak to these people of the mysteries of our Religion; nor seem to regard them any more than dogs or wild beasts; nay, they have forbidden the Monks and Missionaries to instruct them, whom they have even persecuted, and laid a thousand objections in their way, to hinder them from preaching the Gospel to these poor creatures, who passionately desired

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“ it;

* *Spanish Voyages and Cruelties*, pag. 61, 62.† *Ibidem*, pag. 92.‡ *Ibidem*, pag. 99.——

“ it; and all because they thought their conversion
 “ would be an obstacle to their own covetous designs,
 “ and hinder them from getting all the Gold they de-
 “ fired. So that these miserable people have been
 “ industriously kept in their former ignorance, and
 “ know no other God than those of wood and stone,
 “ unless it be the people of *New-Spain*, where the
 “ Monks have exercised their function, and have been
 “ suffered to display their zeal with more freedom. In
 “ the other provinces, the *Indians* perish without Bap-
 “ tism, and no one gives himself the trouble to in-
 “ struct them.” In another place of his book our
 author says *, “ The *Spaniards* undoubtedly have an
 “ obligation upon them to instruct these *Indians* in the
 “ Doctrine of *Christ*, but they are so ignorant them-
 “ selves, that ’tis not to be wondred at, if they take
 “ no care to inform others. I know, *says he*, one
 “ *John Colmenero* in the isle of *St. Martha*, as dull, as
 “ ignorant, and as whimsical a fellow as one could
 “ meet with, to whom the care of instructing the
 “ *Indians* in a great city was committed, tho’ he
 “ scarce knew how to make the sign of the *Cross*; and
 “ when he was examined about the course he took
 “ to instruct the *Indians*, could make no other answer,
 “ but that he taught them to say, *Per Signin Sanctin*
 “ *Cruces*. How indeed is it possible for the *Spaniards*
 “ to teach the *Indians* Christianity, when the most
 “ noted *Spanish* Lords, and such as make the greatest
 “ figure in the *Indies*, scarce know how many Com-
 “ mandments there are? For they go to *America* only
 “ to gratify their insatiable covetousness; they are ge-
 “ nerally given to all sorts of vice, so immoderate,
 “ voluptuous and effeminate, that if a just compari-
 “ son were made between them and the *Indians*, the
 “ latter would be found to have more honesty.——
 “ This makes many *Indians* laugh at the God we
 “ worship, and persist obstinately in their infidelity.
 “ They believe the God of the *Christians* to be the
 “ worst of Gods, because his worshippers are the worst
 “ of

* *Spanish Voyages and Cruelties*, pag. 117.——

“ of men. As for your Majesty, (*speaking to the King*
 “ of Spain) they think you are the most cruel and
 “ impious Prince in the world, while they see the
 “ cruelty and impiety of your subjects; and they
 “ verily believe your Majesty lives upon nothing but
 “ human flesh and blood.”

The Lord *Bartholomew de las Casas*, Bishop of *Chiapa*, upon his return to *Spain*, proposed in an assembly of prelates and learned men, whom the King had called together at *Valladolid*, to reform the affairs of the *Indies* in the year 1542. *That the King of Spain should take the Indians under his protection, and consider them as his lawful subjects; that by this means they may be sheltered and guarded from the continual tyranny and insolence of their enemy the Spaniards, and not be utterly extirpated by massacres, which have been oft committed with impunity; for as fruitful and populous as the new world has been, it will be soon laid entirely waste, if the Spaniards be still suffered to root out the inhabitants, as they have hitherto done.* The reasons of this advice are too long to be here inserted; the sum of them may be learned from what is above narrated. They who are curious, may see them more fully in the book itself, and in the Bishop of *Chiapa*'s dispute with *Dr. Sepulveda*, who maintain'd the wars of the *Spaniards* against the *Indians* to be lawful, as a just punishment of their enormous crimes. The learned and laborious *Mons. du Pin*, has given us an abstract of the life of the Bishop of *Chiapa*, and of this whole dispute *. *Josepb Acosta* is of the same opinion with the Bishop of *Chiapa*, that these wars of the *Spaniards* were unlawful, and no proper methods to recommend Christianity to the Heathens †. Certainly they were no apostolical, no rational methods, nor such as the Primitive Christians ever used, to persuade the *Gentile* world to embrace our holy religion. *Acosta* says ‖, *The minds of princes and great men are to be dealt with in*

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* *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, Cent. XVI. pag. 64—
 73. Edition *Amsterdam*, 1710.

† *De procuranda Indorum salute*, lib. 2. cap. 3, 4, 5.

‖ *Ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 18.

a rational way, that they may be enlightned in the knowledge of Christ, and persuaded to submit to him ; and therefore, our people, i. e. the Spaniards, did greatly err in murdering Atabalipa Ynca of Peru ; his successors to this day complain of it, and affirm, That if their princes had been once prudently gained, the whole empire of Peru would in a little time have embraced the Christian Faith ; for these barbarous people have a wonderful affection for their kings.

Thirdly, Tho' in several parts of this history, and particularly in the former chapter*, I have observed the irreligious methods which the Missionaries of the church of Rome use, in converting the Heathen to a profession of Christianity, according to their superstitious rites ; yet I conceive it proper to add a further caution, that Protestants who desire to labour successfully in that work, may beware of these popish ways. And more especially, *first*, that they act not as the popish Clergy, while they baptized Heathens come to age, without ever instructing them in the principles of the Christian Religion. 'Tis reported of twelve *Franciscan* friars, that each of them baptized an hundred thousand *Indians*, and one of them four times that number, asking no more, but, *what is their names* † ? Yea, they baptized vast multitudes all at once, without any previous care to make them Christians, so as these pretended proselytes did not know whether they were baptized or not. Such converts continued in the practice of their old heathenish idolatry and impiety, never looking to God for his grace, nor amending their life and conversation. *Secondly*, none can with success labour in the conversion of the heathen, without being able to instruct and speak to them in the language of the country. Every man heard the Apostles speak in his own language, *Acts* ii. 6. the holy Apostle *Paul*, inspired by the Spirit of God, spends a whole chapter, *viz.* 1 *Corinth.* xiv. against speaking, preaching, or prophesying in an unknown tongue. When the prophet *Jeremiah* discourses to the Chaldeans,

* See Ch. VIII. more particularly, from Pag. 410—438.

† Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Sac. 15. pag. 891.

Chaldeans, of the vanity of their idolatry, he says, *Thus shall ye say unto them, The Gods that made not the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens*, Jer. x. 11. He changes his dialect, and speaks in *Chaldee*, the vulgar tongue of *Babylon*. To pretend to teach Pagans the Christian Faith, at their first conversion, in the *Latin* tongue, as the *Spaniards* did with the *Indians*, is the most ridiculous folly. This, even the Papists themselves were sometimes sensible of, tho' they took too little care to amend it. *Francis Xavier*, of whose success in the *East Indies*, the church of *Rome* so highly boasts*, says†, If we understood the language of *Japan*, I doubt not but very many would be persuaded to embrace Christianity; but now we are as dumb statues before them, they speak many things before us, which we understand not, being ignorant of their native tongue: mean time, we are like boys learning the first elements of their language. *Thirdly*, beware of popish tyranny and cruelty, which has been already described; this made the poor *Indian* chuse rather to go to hell with his countrymen, than to heaven with the *Spaniards*. *Fourthly*, neither must the Heathen, when they embrace Christianity, be allowed in the practice of their old heathenish idolatry, as the Jesuits have done with their converts in *China*, and in several parts of the *East Indies*, as has been already illustrated||. *Fifthly*, prophaneness, avarice, and the like enormous crimes, are also to be shunned. *The Barbarians*, says *Acosta*‡, *think all Christians to be the same sort of people with those who come among them, and therefore, their crimes and scandals redound to the infamy of our religion*. *Sixthly*, I shall add the observation of *Dr. Geddes*, when with great industry he had writ the history of the churches of *Malabar* and *Ethiopia*. In his preface to the latter he says, “ There are four things, whereof, if I'm not mistaken, this
“ history

* Above, pag. 236—238.

† Xavier Epist. lib. 3. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Sæc. 15. pag. 905.

|| Above, Chap. VIII. from Pag. 275—294.

‡ De procuranda Indorum salute, Lib. 2. cap. 18.—

“ history will satisfy the reader ; *first*, that the *Roman*
 “ Missionaries, especially the Jesuits, having neither
 “ the gift of miracles, nor of patience, to wait for the
 “ slow issue of converting nations, by preaching the
 “ Faith to them, are every where they can come at
 “ them, for dispatching the matter with dragoons, or
 “ by some other violent and sanguinary way ; the Je-
 “ suits being all to a man of the same opinion with
 “ their great Apostle of the *Indies*, *Francis Xavier*,
 “ Missionaries without muskets, do never make con-
 “ verts to any purpose. The truth of which maxim,
 “ *John Bolunte*, a missionary Jesuit, tells us, is con-
 “ firmed by universal experience ; and that neither in
 “ *Brazil*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, *Florida*, or the *Moluccoes*,
 “ have any conversions been made, without the help of
 “ the secular arm. The *second* is, that there is no ty-
 “ ranny in the world, equal to that which the *Roman*
 “ prelates, where they have the secular power at their
 “ command, do continually exercise, and that without
 “ the common relentings of humanity upon all sorts of
 “ people, who will not turn to their religion. *Thirdly*,
 “ that Missionaries, whenever they have inspired a
 “ prince, the main body of whose subjects are anti-pa-
 “ pists, with a bigotry to introduce their religion into
 “ his country, they either run him out of breath, or
 “ run his head against a wall. *Fourthly*, that ambition
 “ did very early enter into the Jesuits order, that society
 “ not being above ten years standing in the world,
 “ when it had engrossed a mission to itself, which did
 “ promise both greater and cheaper honours than ever
 “ any mission had done before.” These methods are
 none of them recommended by our Redeemer, nor by
 his Apostles, but are forged in *Antichrist's* shop ; which
 the faithful, zealous Christian, who would successfully
 labour in converting the heathen, must carefully guard
 against.

Tho' by these means the church of *Rome* has done no
 good, yea, have done much harm ; yet I will not ab-
 solutely affirm, that all their labours in propagating
 Christianity among the heathen, has done no service.

Some

Some of their converts may be as profelytes of the gate, the seed of Christianity, and when they shall be more fully instructed, may be useful to promote our religion among the *Gentiles*, as has been before observed *. The Popish Missionaries have baptized multitudes of infants and adult persons; the abominable human sacrifices in *Mexico* and *Peru* are abolished in great measure, since the *Spaniards* conquered these countries; and any sort of Christians are, or at least should be better than blinded Heathens. If once the blessed times were come, when the Angel shall cry with a loud voice, *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen——Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues †: When the ten horns or kings shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire ‖: When the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved ‡: When Jehovah our Redeemer shall be King over all the Earth, in that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one ***: If these happy days were come, then all invidious, different denominations of Christians shall be abolished, and then all with one consent shall propagate true Christianity among the *Gentiles*, and the Kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. Mean time, we who are enlightened by the Reformation, ought to abhor and abstain from these means set on foot by popish cruelty, delusion and superstition, which the Gospel never allows as the means which God will bless to make converts. For this reason, I dare not commend most of the advices that even *Joseph Acosta* offers in his book *de procuranda Indorum salute*, as being tainted with popish errors; tho' otherwise I have a great value for that author, and for the main design of that book. But,

Fourthly, I chuse rather to commend the noble examples of Mr. *John Eliot*, and other Pastors in *New England*,

* Above, Chap. VIII. pag. 230.

† Revelation 18. 1—4.

‖ Revel. 17. 11—16.

‡ Romans 11. 25, 26.

** Zechariah 14. 9.

England, who succeeded him, in their endeavours to convert the Heathens in their neighbourhood ; and the *Danish* Missionaries in the *East Indies*, of which we have largely discoursed in the former chapter, as excellent patterns for imitation. There we find, those who were employ'd in that work, first carefully studied the language of the natives among whom they were to labour, they gained their affections, they preached frequently, catechised carefully ; they translated the Bible, and other useful books into their language, that their converts might truly understand the foundation of our religion, and that no seducer might impose upon them ; they found evidences of real conversion among their proselytes, and continued their pains to add many to the church, and to edify the body of Christ. A careful imitation of such noble patterns may be more profitable than many advices. Those, who thus labour in this work, have ground to hope for success ; the Heathens have rational souls, are docile and willing to receive instruction ; they do not labour under such prejudices as *Mahometans* and *Jews* ; they have good impressions of the capacity of the *Europeans* to teach them the way to everlasting happiness. And when they find a Missionary free of selfish and base ends, holy and unblameable in practice, seeking only their souls eternal happiness, they'll be ready to hearken to him. *He that winneth souls is wise**, and they who turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the Stars for ever and ever †.

Fifthly, Care ought to be taken to instruct the *Indians* dispersed among the Christians in *America*, and even the *Negro* Slaves, in the principles of our religion. 'Tis a reproach and scandal to Christians, that they have no more concern for the salvation of these slaves, than if they were beasts, yea, in some measure, more care is taken of beasts ; for they are allowed to rest on the Lord's Day, whereas the *Negro* and *Indian* servants, most of 'em have no other day in the week to plant their *Yams* and *Potatoes*, and to work for their own maintenance, but on that day. I find the honourable

* Proverbs 11. 30.

† Daniel 12. 3.

able Society in England, for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts *, employed and supported Mr. Elias Neau, a plain, zealous layman, at New York, in this work of teaching these servants. He informed the Society by his letters dated July 1. 1703. *That there were in these parts a great number of slaves called Negroes, of both sexes, and of all ages, who were without God in the world, and of whose souls there was no manner of care taken ; and therefore, 'tis worthy of the charity of this corporation, to endeavour to find out some methods for their instruction, in order to the converting and baptizing them, without any way affecting the property of their masters——That such a harvest would be more plentiful than that of the Indians, if some honest subsistence were allowed to any good person, for undertaking the office of a catechist among them : And the masters might be obliged to send, or at least to suffer their slaves to be catechised every Sunday ; and the ministers would examine from time to time, what progress is made in improving and saving these poor ignorant souls.* The same Mr. Neau in other letters observes, *that a great impediment to this good design, was a vulgar prejudice in these parts, that if the Negroes were baptized, they would cease to be slaves ; tho' neither Law nor Gospel does authorize any such opinion——The French and Spaniards baptize all their slaves, without giving them any temporal liberty.* After considering these reasons, the Society did prevail with the said Mr. Neau, to undertake the office of a catechist, and promised to encourage him with a salary of fifty pounds a year ; he received a licence from my Lord Cornbury, to catechise the Negroes and Indians, and the children of the town of New York, and for that end left his relation of an elder in the French church. In the discharge of this office, Mr. Neau went from house to house, to catechise Negroe slaves ; but finding that inconvenient, he prevailed with their masters to send them every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at four in the afternoon, to be instructed in the first principles of our religion, and obtained a licence from the Bishop of London for that end. He likewise desired application might be

* Account of the Society, pag. 58, & seq.

be made to the Governour, to pass an act of assembly, whereby it should be ordered, that all the inhabitants should permit their slaves to be instructed, and that their religion should make no alteration in their condition. The Society for *propagating religion*, by the advice of one of their members, prepared the draught of a bill to be offered to parliament, for the more effectual conversion of the Negroes and other servants in the plantations. I do not find that it passed into a law; but Mr. *Samuel Tomlyns* informed the Society by his letter dated *March 10th, 1703*, that under his encouragement, about 20 Negroes had learned to read; he was acquainting them with the principles of the Christian Religion, and had lately baptized one negroe man, and hoped in a little time to find more fit for that holy institution.— One Mr. *Vesey* had also converted some Negroes and *Indians* to the Christian Religion. A pious concern for the salvation of immortal souls should make every one, as occasion offers, promote so good a work.

Sixthly, 'Tis advisable, that in remote Pagan countries, where any *European* Christians have settled colonies, some boys of Heathens should be carefully initiated and instructed in Christianity, and then sent to some of our Universities, and there educated and trained up for the holy ministry. Where the *English, Dutch, and Danes*, with other *European* Christians, in the kind providence of God, are possessed of so large territories in *Asia, Africa, and America*, youths of a promising genius might be easily looked for, and instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion, taught to speak *English, Dutch, French*, or other *European* languages: these being sent to our Schools and Universities in *Europe*, and there trained up in Religion and Learning, and filled with holy zeal for the good of souls, might, under the inspection of the Governours, Consuls, and Pastors of those colonies where they were first educated, be employed in this great work, and thro' the divine blessing, might be capable of doing much good. 'Tis frequently observed by M. *Cerri*, Secretary to the
Congre-

Congregation de Propaganda Fide, That one of these natives so educated, does more good than many Missionaries sent from Europe. When discoursing of the ruin of Christianity in Japan, he says *, But if the natives had been ordained priests, it would have prevailed to this very day, notwithstanding all persecutions. Joseph Acosta is of the same mind, that the natives, when rightly educated, are most proper for this work †. The Missionaries sent from Europe, take a great deal of time before they can learn the language of the country to which they are sent; and even when that is done, they are so unacquainted with the people and their customs, are so frightened and maltreated with reproaches, indignities and persecutions, and so often straitned as to their subsistence, that they frequently desert their mission, or are not able to accomplish the ends thereof. But these inconveniencies are more easily shunned by such, who, from their infancy, were acquainted with the language, customs and manners of the people, among whom they are to labour; especially, when there is a competent number of them to strengthen one another's hands in the work, and under the inspection of faithful and zealous patrons, who can direct, protect, support and assist them.

The learned *Walæus* || recommends a seminary for educating youth in our colleges, who may be afterward employed to convert the *Indians*. Particularly he is of opinion, that special care should be taken, that youths trained up for these ends, should be of known piety, prudence, zeal and diligence: that they be instructed in the knowledge of divinity, and in the controversies we have with *Mahometans*, *Jews* and *Gentiles*; in the customs and languages of the countries where they are to serve: that trial be taken of them, not only by the masters and professors of the University,

* Account of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, pag. mihi 150.

† De procuranda Indorum salute, lib. 4. cap. 8. pag. 379.

|| Antonii Walæi Opera, Tom. II. pag. 437. Necessitas ac forma Collegii seu Seminarii Indici.—

University, but also by the classis or presbytery in the bounds, that their qualifications for this work may be the more evident: being thus found qualified, they may be sent and encouraged with ships going to the *Indies*, to labour in that work of converting the natives. The zeal of the Church of *Rome*, in their College for propagating the Faith, ought to excite Protestants to the like endeavours; not to propagate their own opinions, to make proselytes to a party, and subject foreigners to a *Roman Pontiff*, but to turn sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified; to promote true Christianity over the world, and to use all proper means for attaining so good an end.

While I am upon this subject of educating youth for this great end of *Propagating Christianity*, I cannot but remark, as before I promised †, and I conceive it deserves to be observed with pleasure, admiration, and thankfulness to God, that the piety, learning and diligence of Dr. *August Herman Frank*, professor of Divinity at *Hall* in *Saxony*, this way, has been crowned with remarkable success. His design took its first rise from an inconsiderable beginning, an alms-box placed at his study door, into which some poor mites were thrown, whereby books were bought for poor scholars; then, by unexpected supplies, a noble project was set on foot, which was afterwards enlarged so, as a house and public schools were erected. *Frankius* himself, is a person wonderful for vast erudition, shining piety, and matchless industry, which God has blessed to advance the Kingdom of Christ in the world, so as he has done more within these thirty years or thereabouts, than one would think should require a whole Century. In order to advance the Kingdom of Christ, he began to communicate divine knowledge to a few poor ignorants; his intention being divulged, God stirred up the hearts of men far and near, to send their bounties, which enabled him to build a capacious Orphan house, where

† Above, pag. 349.—

where he has lodged, fed and cloathed a number of poor children, and by tutors flaming with true piety, bestowed a religious education upon them, till they are sent forth to proper employments, or the riper wits among them set apart for the University. The number of persons thus nourished in the Orphan house, is near 500, who have been subsisted above 20 years, by an amazing providence, by the charity of well-disposed persons in several parts of *Europe*; they have lived, and still do, like the *Israelites* upon the Manna rained from heaven. In the University is taught pure Religion and undefiled, accompanied with all sorts of humane Literature. The *German* school has about 1600 scholars *, in 32 classes, and 8 tutors. The *Latin, Greek and Hebrew*, has 14 classes, 26 tutors, and above 300 scholars, where vast numbers are taught for nothing, others for a small *Didactrum* of about 24 shillings a year of our money. The education in these schools, is advanced with such a strain of piety, the tutors keep so exact discipline, with such paternal tenderness and clemency, and yet with such effectual cogency, that it were to be desired, that all our schools were managed by such rules as the *Pietas Hallensis* has exemplified. The *Frederician* University, so called from its patron the King of *Prussia*, is under the government of five professors, viz. Dr. *Frankius*, Dr. *Buthaup*, Dr. *Antonius*, Dr. *Michaelis*, and Dr. *Langius*; 'tis one of the most flourishing in the world, having more than 3000 students resorting to it from all parts of *Europe*. Piety is still the main concern, the students are not sent forth with testimonials to the ministry, till it appear by lively symptoms that they know what it is to live to God, and, by Faith on the Son of God, to hate all sin, and slight this world, to have a soul reconciled with low and mean circumstances here, and an heart set upon doing good, willing to be at any pains for it, and have nothing so much at heart as how to advance the Kingdom of *Christ* in this world. It is

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not

* See *Pietas Hallensis*, and Dr. *Cotton Mather's* brief Account of good Things doing for the Kingdom of God in *Europe*.

not needful now to enlarge on the many lessons and sermons they have in their public auditory upon their dining-room, where they are agreeably entertained; their *Nosocomium*, where their sick are provided for, with suitable instructions and proper medicines; their *Pædagogium Regium*, where the sons of men of quality are educated, it has about 100 scholars, most of them strangers; the famous *Fregerus* is their inspector. Their *Gynecæum*, for young gentlewomen taught at the expence of their parents: and in another house are taught indigent women, especially those who fly from popish persecutions. Their *Cherotrophea*, where poor widows are supported. Their *English* house, in which are a number of *English* scholars, whose work is to translate out of, or into *English*, books of piety. And their *Collegium Orientale Theologicum*, where many, and even some *Greek* youths among them study the oriental tongues, that they may be capable to advance piety in the more eastern parts of the world. Here is also *Præceptorum Seminarium*, or a nursery for tutors, in which they who are designed for the tuition of others, do spend a couple of years to be furnished with skill and grace for that employment. Hence have gone forth well-accomplished tutors, not only for *Frankius* schools, but for several other parts of *Germany* and *Europe*. There is likewise a *Seminary* for *Catechisers*, and an *Officina Pharmaceutica*, belonging to the orphan-house, where eminent physicians have lodged their best *Arcana*. There are *Printing-Presses*, which have brought forth books, which have had an incredible influence on promoting true piety even in remote countries; the warmth of them has reached as far as *Siberia*, a remote cold country in *Muscovy*, whence came letters to the Doctor, filled with praises to God for the good these books have done. But above all, hence have proceeded innumerable copies, and many editions of the *Holy Bible*, at a cheaper rate than ever was in *Germany*; that these waters of the sanctuary may run into all the corners of the earth, and refresh the congregation of the poor. Here the *Scriptures* have been published in
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the *Sclavonic* tongue for the poor *Bobemians* and *Hungarians*; in the vulgar *Greek* or *Romaic*, with the authentic *Greek* on the other side, as a present to the poor *Greek* Church under *Mahometan* oppression. The *German* Bibles are at so easy a rate, as more of them has been sold of late in a few years than in a whole age before. This glorious example has awakened the like zeal for scattering Bibles in other places thro' the earth. The world begins to feel a warmth from this divine fire, which thus flames in the heart of *Germany*, may the whole universe be sensible of it! It has reached even to the *East-Indies*, the Gospel of the glorious God has been carried to the coasts of *Malabar*, by the *Danish* Missionaries educated in these schools, who deserve to be reckoned among the best of men, of whom we have more fully heard in the former chapter. I doubt not, but from this *Noble Seminary* many other Missionaries may be had, for labouring in the conversion of other parts of the Heathen World. Hence it may be demonstrated, how much the *Roman* Missionaries are out, when they go about to confine the spirit of charity to their Church. The reading of the book, entitled, *Pietas Hallensis*, which contains this narrative more fully, and of which there are many copies, editions and translations, (that before me is printed at *London* in 1705.) does give many remarkable evidences of the hearing of prayer, of relief in straits, and of a divine providence protecting and prospering such works of charity designed for his glory. May other nations, and we in this island, imitate so noble an example! For this reason I have insisted more fully on it.

To this end, I shall also offer a later account, from letters bearing date at *Hall* in *Saxony*, *November* 24th, 1719, by this eminent and learned Dr. *August Herman Frank*, to the Secretary of the Society at *London* for promoting *Christian Knowledge*. I take notice of only a part of the letter, where he says *, “ Thus it has pleased

B b 3

“ God

* The Copy before me, is, with several Letters relating to the Protestant *Danish* Mission at *Tranquebar*, printed at *London* in 1720.

“ God, and still pleases him, to bless these pious in-
 “ stitutions which he has entrusted to my care, and to
 “ endow them with an extraordinary fund of his pecu-
 “ liar providence, and to furnish us with supplies every
 “ way necessary for the present, tho’ not for the future
 “ wants and occasions. For tho’ there arises some
 “ yearly income from the library and apothecary’s
 “ shop, yet considering that 600 students and scholars
 “ have the benefit of eating twice a day at free cost,
 “ and that above 2000 boys and girls have almost all
 “ their learning free in our schools, under the care of
 “ near 150 masters, regulated by certain rules and
 “ methods, and that poor sick people, both of the
 “ town and neighbouring villages, have the advice of
 “ the physician of the hospital; and the necessary me-
 “ dicines given them *gratis*; not to mention salaries of
 “ the servants, expences required for raising new
 “ buildings, and keeping them in repair:—— Con-
 “ sidering all this, it will evidently appear, that our
 “ yearly revenues would fall far short of maintaining a
 “ work of this nature, without extraordinary supplies
 “ and donations, which by divine providence are trans-
 “ mitted to us.—— In the mean time, this example
 “ alone without a narrative has, God be praised, been
 “ of such influence, as to invite several others in *Ger-*
 “ *many* to imitate our honest endeavours of this kind:
 “ for, in these late years, many Orphan-houses and
 “ Alms-houses have been purposely erected, and pro-
 “ vided with good laws; others have been repaired
 “ and brought under better regulations. For proof
 “ whereof, not only do these serve that have been
 “ erected at the public expence, as those of *Leipsic*,
 “ *Gotba*, *Berlin*, *Sleswic*, *Stargard*, *Coburg*, *Zittaw*,
 “ &c. but those especially that have been set up, and
 “ now subsist without the help of a sufficient fund, as
 “ by occasional donations, and providential supplies,
 “ which is the main of what they have to depend
 “ upon. Some of these have been begun and conti-
 “ nued by private persons, *viz.* one by an Inspector in
 “ the country of *Limburg*, another by a Pastor of
 “ *Stolberg*,

“ *Stolberg*, another by a Professor of the Reformed
“ Religion at *Marpurg*, and another by a Waggoner
“ at *Langendorf* in our neighbourhood, who to that
“ end sold his cart, horses, &c. There are others
“ which are maintained both ways, partly at the
“ charge of the public, and partly by charitable gifts ;
“ of which number we may justly mention that of
“ *Weimar*, *Ætingen*, *Widingen*, *Laubach*, *Hacken-*
“ *burgh*, *Nortling*, &c. where most of those who are
“ principally concerned in the management and go-
“ vernment, are such, as are either our intimate
“ friends, or correspondents. Among the number of
“ alms-houses, that of *Augsburgh* deserves a particular
“ notice: this, from a very small beginning of three
“ or four persons, who, in full confidence of assistance
“ from above, at first undertook that work, has, by
“ a success of about 20 years, increased to that de-
“ gree, that now a considerable number of boys,
“ girls, men and women, are fed and entertained in a
“ house both large and handsome. They are dili-
“ gently instructed in Religion, as well as in other
“ useful employments: it has also now obtained the
“ authority of the magistrate to confirm the same.
“ Neither must I omit mentioning the orphan-house,
“ which is founded with like design at *Hirschfeld* in
“ *Hassia*, by that excellent man Dr. *Mell*, a famous di-
“ vine of the Reformed Confession, which, as I passed
“ that way two years ago, gave me a very sensible
“ satisfaction. A certain Pastor who was formerly one
“ of my auditors, began one at *Essen* in *East-Friesland*,
“ upon his own private motion without any settled
“ income, and has continued it to this day with re-
“ markable success. Not to mention how providen-
“ tially many have been stirred up to a more accurate
“ inspection and reformation of methods used in schools,
“ and to the erecting of new ones in conformity to
“ our schools here, and to the royal Pædagogy in
“ particular. This we have had the pleasure of ob-
“ serving in several places, but especially at *Konigs-*
“ *burg* in *Prussia*, at *Halberstadt*, *Magdeburg*, &c.

“ These good motions which of late discovered them-
 “ selves in the hearts of men, otherwise divided and
 “ separated by the distance of place, and by different
 “ customs and interests, 'tis but just to ascribe to Al-
 “ mighty God, who is the author of them. We have
 “ all the reason to hope, that a glorious increase of
 “ *Christianity* will rise and ensue, according to the usual
 “ methods of divine providence, from these private
 “ and less promising beginnings, and that notwithstand-
 “ ing all the force and policy of hell to obstruct
 “ it.” After what has been said concerning the meth-
 ods of education of those who may be sent to pro-
 pagate the Gospel among the *Heathen*, and the good
 things a-doing in *Europe*, with relation to this and other
 valuable purposes, I proceed,

In the *Seventh place* to observe, that special care
 should be had, that those who are sent to remote parts
 of the world upon this errand, should be men of suf-
 ficient abilities, endowed with knowledge of the truths
 of God, capable to speak the language of the people
 to whom they are sent, or who will apply themselves
 to learn it, before they enter upon that work ; that
 they be of a holy and blameless conversation, moved
 by a pious zeal for the glory of God and the good of
 his Church ; patient to endure hardships and difficul-
 ties, prudent to deal with the humours of the people,
 serious in practical Godliness, and furnished with forti-
 tude of body and mind for so great a work. The
 learned Jesuit *Joseph Acosta*, gives but a sorry account
 of the popish priests who were first sent to convert
 the *Indians* in *Peru* *, saying, *That the priests repeated*
the Creed with some prayers and offices twice or thrice a
week to these people in Spanish, of which the Indians un-
derstood not one syllable, nor could they pronounce one single
word in that language ; and the priests gave the Indian
boys something in form of a Catechism in the Indian tongue,
which they obliged them to repeat ; but their teachers un-
derstood nothing of it, nor could explain it to their scholars.
 In

In another place he says *, *The parish priests were given to leachery and uncleanness, were guilty of avarice and unlawful ways of making gain and usury; did game at cards and dice night and day, a whole year's salary would be demolished at one throw. They spent their time in hunting and hawking in the fields, but would grudge at a minute employed upon religious purposes. The Man of God should flee these things, and follow after Righteousness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness,* 1 Tim. vi. 11. *Acosta also mentions the careless profane way † in which these priests administered the Sacraments, and that some of them maintained, Men may be saved without the knowledge of Christ ||: Whom he justly refutes, since there is no Salvation in any other, nor any other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, Acts iv. 12. It was the Apostle Paul's constant work to preach among the Gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ, Eph. iii. 8. They who neglect and despise this doctrine, can never convert the Heathen. Indeed, great care should be taken to instruct them in the fundamentals of the Christian Religion, to catechise them, and by frequent prayers and sermons, to awaken them to a suitable concern for their own salvation, and, so soon as they are capable, to administer the Sacraments to them.*

Eighthly, If we would propagate Religion in Foreign Parts, we ought to reform our selves at home, that a holy warmth of sincere piety may so burn in our hearts, as would prompt us to spend and be spent for promoting the Kingdom of *Christ* in every part of the world. Alas! Iniquity prevails in city and country, we are like to dwindle into the empty form of a profession, and become strangers to the real power of Godliness. The *Reformation* has little advanced, but rather declined this last *Century*. 'Tis lamentable, that Popish Idolatry should increase in a Protestant Country,

* De procuranda Indorum salute, Lib. 4. cap. 15. contra Abusus Indicorum Parochorum.

† Ibidem, Lib. 6. cap. 2.

|| Ibidem, Lib. 5. cap. 3. pag. 441.

Country, and that so little care should be taken to bring over the popish natives in *Ireland* to the Protestant Religion. Mr. *Richardson* has published an history of the attempts to convert these natives to the established Religion, but little is done to advance that good design. The *Bible* is indeed printed in their language, which is one good step, and if a competent number of persons of piety and pregnant parts, who from their infancy understood their language and customs, were sent and encouraged to labour in the work of the ministry among them, there might be hopes of comfortable success. This would strengthen the *Protestant Interest* in *Ireland*, secure the peace and prosperity of that nation, would glorify God, and advance our holy Religion. Many other things might be done for Reformation of Manners, and promoting piety, for checking profaneness, reclaiming the vicious, curbing atheism, and profane irreligious mocking at the Scriptures and Sacred Things, which I must leave to be managed by others. Let every man reform his own heart and life, his own family, and every Pastor his own Congregation, and promote pure Religion according to his station in the place where he is concerned; then shall we be also careful to advance the same in the remote parts of the world, wherever providence shall open a door. *When the Spirit is poured out from on high, the wilderness shall be a fruitful field, judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field.*

Finally, Kings, Princes, and States ought to promote this work of propagating Religion among the *Heathen*. The great examples of the noble Emperors *Constantine* and *Theodosius* the Great, *Charlemaign*, *Louis le Debonaire*, and others, whose names are famous among posterity; their *Works* praise them in the gate, and their care to propagate *Christianity*, which has been mentioned in this history, should excite others in this age to imitate so noble patterns. By our blessed Redeemer *Kings* reign, and *Princes* decree justice; they should then employ that power they have from him for his glory

glory and service ; this would make their crowns to flourish on their heads, and their praises to be in all the churches. 'Tis true, force and compulsion, violence and persecution are not to be used, only rational and soul-convincing means are proper to reclaim sinners from the error of their way : yet princes and sovereigns may support and encourage *Missionaries*, may protect their persons, defray their necessary expences, and reward their pious endeavours. Kings are *nursing Fathers to the Church*, *Isaiah xlix. 24.* When the glory of the Lord is risen upon the Church, *then Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising, Isaiah lx. 3.* They shall add a lustre to the government of *Christ's* house. They may employ governours and deputies of real piety, and flaming zeal for the interest of religion, in pagan countries afar off. Even the heathen *Romans*, in their remote provinces, made always choice of persons of great abilities, not meerly such, whose birth and circumstances made such a profitable office necessary to them, but whose merit and capacity rendered them fit for it. They may take care by wholesome laws, that converts to Christianity be protected in their persons and goods ; that they be not oppressed by immoderate taxations, or obliged to work in mines, or too hard service ; but that they may be encouraged and taught in the pleasure and profit of our holy religion. If every one in their station did use their best endeavours to advance the kingdom of *Christ*, then should converts to the Gospel Church be as the sand on the shore, peace should flow as a river, and righteousness as the waves of the sea.

To all that has been advanced I shall add, that the reverend Mr. *William Stevenson*, Chaplain to the honourable *East India Company* at Fort *St. George*, gives his opinion for rendering the *Protestant Mission* to the *East Indies*, by the blessing of God, more effectual for gaining the *Heathen* to true Christianity ; in a letter to the Secretary of the *Society at London for promoting Christian Knowledge*. The letter is printed in the year 1721, but bears date at Fort *St. George* on the coast of *Coromandel*,

27th December 1716. I promised before to take notice of it*, and the same being suitable to my present purpose, as containing many excellent advices for promoting *Christianity* in these parts of the world, if this age had a disposition to receive and practise them, I here give the following abstract thereof.

He says, “ Let me now first point out the chief impediments that hinder this glorious work, and the reasons that induce me to hope for success in it ; and then I shall propose those methods, that I think are most likely to promote the conversion of the Heathen. One of the greatest hindrances to this excellent design, is the want of a sufficient number of *Missionaries* and *Catechists* to carry it on. Mr. *Ziegenbalg* and Mr. *Grundler* have not the power of working miracles, and yet it seems miracles are expected from them. What they have already done, shews them to be laborious and indefatigable ; they have laid a good foundation, by translating and printing many useful books in the *Malabar* language : but this, and the charge of their schools, and their adult converts must employ them so constantly, that they are confined as it were within the bounds of *Tranquebar*, where two *Missionaries* will always be necessary ; and there must be others sent up into the country to instruct the natives, settle schools in the villages, and labour continually to promote both the knowledge and practice of religion among them. But in this I foresee another obstacle, if it be not seasonably prevented, and that is, *the mixing of disputable opinions with the plain and necessary doctrines of the Gospel*. For, Sir, the natives here are generally a quick and penetrating people, who labour under too strong prejudices from their education, which ought not to be increased, by proposing to them any scheme of controverted opinions. Nothing ought to be taught among them but the plain and unquestionable truths of the *Christian Faith*. A third hindrance that must be expected, is, *the violent opposition*

* Above, Pag. 315.

“ *tion that the Romish priests will make, when they find*
 “ *that the Protestant Missionaries begin to gain ground,*
 “ *and to meet with success in converting the natives.* The
 “ scheme of Popery is so very opposite to the Genius
 “ and Doctrine of the Gospel, that the *Indians* will be
 “ extremely surprized at hearing such different accounts
 “ of the *Christian Religion*; and seeing that both cannot
 “ be in the right, they will be apt to suspect the whole.
 “ This prejudice however may be overcome by our
 “ *Protestant Missionaries*, who can easily confute the
 “ *Romish* priests by the very same arguments that they
 “ urge against the *Heathen Idolatry*, and by appealing
 “ to the Holy Scriptures, which the Papists themselves
 “ own to be divine. Another impediment will be occa-
 “ sioned by the ill example of those, who profess the
 “ *Christian Religion*; but this prejudice will be strongest
 “ in their minds who live among the *Europeans*, and
 “ may be overcome in a great measure by the pious and
 “ prudent deportment of the *Missionaries, Catechists,*
 “ and *Schoolmasters*, who must be employ’d chiefly in
 “ the country, where there are no *Europeans* to be seen
 “ besides themselves. But the greatest obstacle of all,
 “ is *that unaccountable spirit of bigotry and mad zeal that*
 “ *the natives have for their several Casts or Sects*; for
 “ the sake whereof the generality of them are ready
 “ to sacrifice their lives, and every thing that’s dear to
 “ them*. These *Casts* or Parties are distinguished
 “ from one another, not only by their different modes
 “ of superstition, and observances of what they reckon
 “ sacred; but likewise by many other little customs
 “ and usages in common life, as in their food, eating,
 “ habit, trades, &c. For any one of which customs,
 “ or their several privileges, they quarrel with as much
 “ fury and rage as our sects and parties in *Europe*. To
 “ lose their *Cast*, or to be abandoned and excommuni-
 “ cated by it, is what they reckon the greatest evil in
 “ the world; if the dread of this can be once overcome,
 “ there will be no great difficulty in their conversion.
 “ I am informed, that this bigotry is not so great in
 “ the

* See of these *Casts* above, Pag. 140—142.

“ the country as we find it in sea-port towns among
 “ the *Europeans*, where the *Casts* rival one another in
 “ point of trade and business; and these political
 “ feuds heighten their zeal or rage against one another
 “ on account of their other observances, which they
 “ call *Religious and Sacred*. These, Sir, are the main
 “ impediments that are most likely to obstruct the
 “ conversion of the *Indians*; most of the hindrances I
 “ have mentioned may be effectually removed, if pro-
 “ per measures be concerted at home, and executed
 “ here with suitable care and application.

“ Let me now lay before you the reasons I have to
 “ hope for success in this difficult but generous un-
 “ dertaking. *First*, The reasonableness of the Chri-
 “ stian Religion gives me great hopes, that it will meet
 “ with a ready reception among the Heathen. For
 “ since the great design of the Gospel is to teach men the
 “ most perfect system of morality, and such other im-
 “ portant truths as reason alone could not have disco-
 “ vered, and to enforce the practice of all virtue and
 “ piety, by the most moving considerations of the
 “ greatest rewards, and the most terrible punishments;
 “ a scheme of Religion that’s so agreeable to the no-
 “ tions of mankind, and contains nothing but what rea-
 “ son must approve and acquiesce in, which gives us
 “ such just and worthy thoughts of Almighty God,
 “ and the great end and design of our life: I say,
 “ such a scheme of doctrines as this, which is in it self
 “ so rational, noble and consistent, and supported by
 “ the most convincing proofs that the nature of such
 “ truths is capable of; bespeaks the regard and atten-
 “ tion of mankind, and powerfully insinuates it self,
 “ even upon a prejudiced spirit.—

“ Miracles were necessary in the apostolical times,
 “ because the Gospel was to be preached throughout
 “ the world in a short time, and by a few persons,
 “ whose lives and labours, without the power of mi-
 “ racles, could not have been sufficient to have pro-
 “ pagated the Gospel with sufficient success: but now
 “ the truth of those miracles, which the Apostles

“ wrought every where, is as well attested, and is as
 “ convincing a proof to sincere and unbyassed minds,
 “ as if we had seen them with our own eyes: and a
 “ considerable number of Missionaries may be em-
 “ ployed in the several parts of the world, and by as-
 “ siduous labour and application, they may, in a course
 “ of many years, gain over great numbers to Chri-
 “ stianity, without the help of miracles, by the divine
 “ blessing. The Apostles had the wonderful gift of
 “ tongues, which was then absolutely necessary; but
 “ now the want of that gift may be supplied in a great
 “ degree, by study and labour in a natural way; and
 “ when our own diligence and charitable endeavours
 “ may accomplish the conversion of the Heathen,
 “ there is no reason to expect or wait for the power
 “ of miracles. But if Almighty God should think fit
 “ to vouchsafe a miraculous power, it must be to those
 “ who use all other industrious methods that prudence,
 “ zeal and charity can suggest: for the use of natural
 “ means cannot possibly hinder the course of such super-
 “ natural helps as God may be pleased at length to
 “ impart. But tho’ it may be questioned, whether
 “ the power of miracles be now necessary, we have no
 “ reason to doubt, but that Almighty God will ac-
 “ company the preaching of the Gospel to the Hea-
 “ then, with a double portion of his spirit and grace,
 “ which may have the same effect and influence upon
 “ their minds, as if they saw the most astonishing
 “ miracles. God will bless the preaching of the Gospel
 “ with such measures of spiritual assistance, as shall be
 “ necessary, to counter-balance the prejudices of the
 “ Heathen, and dispose them to a favourable recep-
 “ tion of the truth.

“ The quick capacity of the natives, is another
 “ reason to hope for their speedy conversion to Chri-
 “ stianity; I don’t mean their skill and ingenuity in all
 “ manual arts, wherein they seem to excel the com-
 “ mon artificers in *Europe*, and sometimes outdo the
 “ most ingenious, tho’ they will use but few, and
 “ those but clumsy tools, in finishing the nicest pieces
 “ of

“ of work. They are no less remarkable for their
 “ skill in arithmetic, and their easy and expeditious
 “ way of calculating the most difficult sums and pro-
 “ portions, after a manner unknown to *Europeans* ;
 “ this is reckoned but a vulgar attainment among one
 “ Cast of them, there being a great number that excel
 “ in it. They shew no less art and address in their
 “ common affairs and business, some of them being
 “ masters of a more refined policy and dissimulation,
 “ than most can imagine ; and all of them, as far as
 “ ever I could observe, shew greater sagacity, a
 “ quicker fancy, and readier apprehension even of moral
 “ truths, than our common people at home do. I was
 “ never better pleased than in seeing, for tho’ I heard,
 “ I did not understand, Mr. *Ziegenbalg* preach to a
 “ croud of them, for they shewed so much attention,
 “ and seemed so extremely pleased with his undertaking
 “ a voyage from *Europe* to instruct them, and with
 “ his humble and familiar way of conversing with
 “ them in their own language ; and as he afterward
 “ told me, they understood him so easily, and made
 “ such pertinent objections about the Resurrection,
 “ and other points, that I thought it was great pity,
 “ such numbers of ingenious and seemingly well dis-
 “ posed people, should not have some able Missio-
 “ naries sent out to instruct them.

“ Seeing they are so sagacious and inquisitive, it can-
 “ not be thought strange, that the grossness of their
 “ superstition, and their absurd belief, should give me
 “ some hopes of their conversion : for tho’ they are
 “ not capable of making such just reflections as might
 “ undeceive them, and free them from the lasting pre-
 “ judices of education, yet if they were addressed with
 “ proper arguments, there could be no great difficulty
 “ in convincing them, *That their forefathers were im-*
 “ *posed upon, and that their notions and practices are*
 “ *foolish and absurd.*

“ The austere and abstemious life that the *Indians*
 “ generally lead, gives me some reason to believe,
 “ that they might easily be converted to the Christiani-

“ Faith and Practice; they would find but little
“ difficulty in the hard and shocking doctrines of tem-
“ perance, self-denial, poverty, and contempt of the
“ World, for these unpleasing doctrines are in some
“ measure natural to them. Rice is their daily food;
“ their head and middle only are covered with linen;
“ they lie upon the ground; and for houses, have
“ only such huts as can skreen them from cold, winds
“ and rain: since they are thus contented and happy
“ with the necessaries of life, they do not lie under
“ any great temptation to covetousness, pride, ambi-
“ tion and envy.

“ Another thing which I think must somewhat dis-
“ pose them to embrace the doctrine of the Gospel,
“ is their evenness of temper, and freedom from vio-
“ lent anger, to which *Europeans* are generally subject.
“ They reckon passion a mean unmannerly thing, and
“ can scarce help smiling, when they see others angry
“ and railing at them in the severest manner. They take
“ every thing in good part, and do not seem to be moved
“ by the highest provocation.—— If ever passion
“ rages among all sorts of them, ’tis upon account of
“ their *Casts*, for which they think they cannot shew
“ too much zeal and concern; but in their ordinary
“ conversation they shew the greatest temper, mildness
“ and good nature. Upon so good a stock of natural
“ dispositions as they generally have, the Christian
“ virtues might be easily grafted and cultivated to the
“ best purposes.

“ *In fine*, their acknowledgment of one true God,
“ and of a future state, and the just notions they have
“ of many moral virtues, gives us reason to believe,
“ that they are already somewhat prepared for em-
“ bracing the other principles of the Christian Reli-
“ gion; nor have they only a notion of these things,
“ but some of them shew as great a regard to them in
“ their practice, as most Christians do.

“ *Sir*, Having thus pointed out to you the chief
“ hindrances to the propagation of the Gospel in this
“ part of the world, and the great encouragements

“ we have to attempt it ; I shall now propose to you
 “ those methods that I think might be most effectual
 “ in prosecuting this necessary work. To begin at
 “ the very source and foundation of it, it will be
 “ thought proper, I suppose, and practicable, so to
 “ unite the hearts and endeavours of the several Socie-
 “ ties in *England, Denmark and Germany*, who have
 “ engaged to support the Protestant Mission, that lay-
 “ ing aside all distrust and jealousy of one another,
 “ concerning the point of national honour, in carrying
 “ on this design, and all partiality and prejudices in
 “ favour of their several schemes and opinions, they
 “ may agree to promote the glory of God, and the
 “ conversion of the Heathen by all proper methods
 “ and persons, without disputing about rights, pre-
 “ cedence or superior direction. Such an union may
 “ be begun and carried on by frequent correspondence
 “ and friendly communication of advice and assistance
 “ to each other, and by such regulations as they shall
 “ agree upon for the most speedy and successful ma-
 “ nagement of their affairs.

“ When one common Society for promoting the Pro-
 “ testant Mission is happily formed, one of the first
 “ things that can fall under their consideration, is, how
 “ to raise a sufficient fund for carrying on so great a
 “ work, towards which 'tis but reasonable, that all cha-
 “ ritable Christians will readily contribute. It is not
 “ possible to make an exact calculation of the *annual*
 “ *Expences* that will be necessary to subsist the Missio-
 “ naries, and others to be employed under them. But
 “ their yearly charge here, in *India*, cannot be com-
 “ puted less than 3000*l*. Besides this fund for expences,
 “ it were to be wished, that there were colleges erected
 “ in *Europe*, for training up Missionaries, and teaching
 “ the languages that are necessary for them, *viz.* the
 “ *Malabar, Gentu, Moorish and Portuguese* tongues,
 “ in each of which they might be somewhat instructed,
 “ before they come abroad; but chiefly in the *Mala-*
 “ *barian* and the *Portuguese*, which is the *Lingua*
 “ *Franca* used throughout the coast of *Coromandel*.

“ From

“ From such Seminaries, the Mission must be supplied from time to time, with at least eight well qualified ministers, to reside in *India*; and if a greater number could be sent out, they might be very usefully employed in so great a harvest as here offers.

“ Two of these Missionaries will always find sufficient employment at *Tranquebar*, where a college might be erected for training up catechists and schoolmasters, for the service of the mission. There will be occasion for another Missionary to reside at *Fort St. George*; and perhaps for one at *Fort St. David's*, to educate school-masters, take the charge of schools to be erected in and about these settlements, and to facilitate a correspondence among the other Missionaries, whose business it must be to travel up into the country, with catechists and assistants, there to preach to the natives, settle schools in their villages, and distribute among them abstracts of the Christian Religion, engraven or written on the most durable materials.

“ For the better management of the whole work, the Missionary who shall reside at *Fort St. George*, and one of those at *Tranquebar*, might be invested with some authority over the rest, to direct their progress, and stations, determine their differences, and negotiate the affairs of their mission; and it seems no less necessary, that some of them be empowered to ordain *Gentile* proselytes to the ministry.

“ To prevent all disputes about Religion, and further the propagation of it among the natives, it will be necessary, that not only a short abstract of the Christian Doctrine, but likewise a *Larger Catechism*, containing all proper, especially practical instruction, be composed by some judicious members of the Society in *Europe*, for the use of the mission; and that no sort of books be printed or used by any of the Missionaries, but such as shall be approved and recommended by the Society.

“ That the itinerant Catechists, Missionaries, &c.
 “ may not be molested nor interrupted, they must be
 “ powerfully recommended to the favour and pro-
 “ tection of the Governors at *Fort St. George* and *Tran-*
 “ *quebar*; who, by their letters, testimonial and re-
 “ commendatory, may procure not only protection
 “ from the Governours of the inland provinces, but
 “ likewise their favour and good-will to the Missio-
 “ naries and their assistants.

“ Since the success of the mission in some measure
 “ depends upon the abilities and good conduct of the
 “ persons to be employed in it, the greatest care must
 “ be had in chusing them, that none may be sent,
 “ but such as are learned and laborious, and remarka-
 “ ble for their prudence, good temper and Christian
 “ zeal.

“ It will be necessary, that the Missionaries hold a
 “ punctual correspondence, and frequent conferences
 “ with one another, on any particular emergence, and
 “ transmit copies of them from time to time, both to
 “ *Fort St. George* and *Tranquebar*, to be thence for-
 “ warded to the Society in *Europe*.

“ One of the most effectual ways the Missionaries
 “ can take to propagate the Gospel among the natives,
 “ and procure their good-will, is to begin charity-
 “ schools in their villages, and to stay several days
 “ among them, in teaching and instructing the more
 “ advanced in age; and they must leave a school-
 “ master in every considerable place, to teach their
 “ children to read, write, and cast accompts after their
 “ own way: to which villages the Missionaries ought
 “ to return again, to visit, instruct and encourage such
 “ as seem inclined to embrace the Christian Religion,
 “ and may leave a catechist among them, when they
 “ make converts, or ordain him a minister, and settle
 “ a Church in any place where they meet with suffi-
 “ cient success.

“ It being absolutely necessary, that they who un-
 “ dertake the conversion of the Heathen, live strictly
 “ according to that pure and holy Religion they teach
 “ and

“ and profess ; the Missionaries must not only set a
 “ shining example of piety and all heroic virtue, but
 “ they must keep up the strictest order and discipline
 “ among those that assist them, lest any disorder in
 “ their lives should give offence and scandal to the na-
 “ tives, and obstruct their conversion : And therefore,
 “ none ought to be employed as Catechists, till they
 “ have sufficient proofs of their sincerity and stedfast-
 “ nefs.

“ Thus, Sir, I have freely communicated to you
 “ my thoughts concerning the most effectual way of
 “ propagating the Gospel in this part of the world,
 “ which I freely submit to the judgment of the *Honou-
 “ rable Society*. I am sensible the proposals I have
 “ made are too general, and defective in many particu-
 “ lars ; for I designed only to mention such things as
 “ to me seem essential and necessary.” *I am,*

S I R,

Your most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM STEVENSON.

If these and other proper methods were religiously followed, who knows how soon a Divine Blessing might crown them with success? and the fulness of the *Gentiles* might be gathered to Christ. Wherever pious endeavours were used by good men, they were always attended with some desirable fruit, which did more than recompence their labours.

I proceed now to offer a few arguments to excite us to act with holy zeal and concern in promoting the conversion of the heathen. In the first place, a very great part of the world is at this day under woful ignorance of God, the times of *Gentilism* are called the times of ignorance *, the *Gentiles* are said not to know God †, to be without God ‖, to sit in darkness ‡. The Pagan nations are said to be *the dark places of the Earth, that are full of the habitations of cruelty ***. This woful ignorance is the source and fountain from which a deluge of evils

C c 3

does

* Acts 17. 30.

† Gal. 4. 8.

‖ Eph. 2. 22.

‡ Matth. 4. 16.

** Psalm 74. 20.

does spring. *When they knew not God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness—to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient, being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity, whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despites, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful*.* These evils of sin do bring down all miseries upon them; they are in the region and shadow of death, dead in sins and trespasses, wherein in time past they walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience—and were by nature children of wrath†. The way of salvation is hid from them. They are in the path that leads to eternal ruin, for Christ will be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power||. This deplorable condition of so great a part of the world, under heathenish infidelity and idolatry, as described in the seventh chapter of this history, should move our hearts to pity them, and to use all endeavours to deliver them from the snare of the devil, the enemy of mankind, who seeks only to make them sharers of those eternal miseries prepared for him and his angels; and to bring them into the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they may share of his purchase, and to eternity may sing the praises of him who has redeemed us to God, by his blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people, and nation.

Secondly,

* Romans 1. 21—32.

† Ephes. 2. 1, 2, 3.

|| 2 Thesal. 1. 8, 9.—→

Secondly, The sending of the Gospel to these nations, and spreading the knowledge of God among them, would be a proper mean to prevent these miseries, and a choice remedy to all these evils. *When the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord*, then there shall be a blessed change upon the hearts and lives of men, *the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid**. Men of fierce, cruel and rugged dispositions shall be subdued, sweetned and reclaimed from their inhumanity and barbarity. The knowledge of God makes Satan's kingdom fall like lightning†. In the primitive times, when the Gospel was propagated over the *Gentile* world, *Dagon did fall before the Ark*; the altars, images and superstitions of the heathen, with the whole frame of their idolatry, were demolished. The names of *Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c.* are now wholly buried among those nations who formerly adored them; and the spreading of the Gospel thro' the earth at this day, would be a blessed mean of purging out the idolatry that remains, and of reclaiming multitudes from their gross abominations. The attempts that have been used since the reformation from Popery in *New England*, and in the *East Indies*, have been crowned with some desirable success. The Papists themselves, as *Joseph Acosta*, and *Bartholomew de las Casas* Bishop of *Chiapa*, who travelled in that work, declare, that the Pagans in *Peru*, and in the vast dominions possessed by the *Spaniards* in *America*, are a people of an easy temper, capable of receiving instruction, had not the barbarous cruelties of the *Spaniards*, which the last of these authors particularly relates, having been eye-witness to them, filled the poor people with prejudices, and disappointed the good designs of their conversion. Let us therefore use our utmost endeavours to promote this good work, wherever we have access; and look to our gracious God, that, by a mighty effusion of his spirit, and by a day of his power, he may bless the whole with success.

Thirdly, The conversion of the Heathen Nations would be a special mean to advance the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ over the world. Then would his enemies become his footstool * ; *Then shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace be as long as the Moon endureth ; he shall have dominion from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him, and his enemies shall lick the dust—Yea, all Kings shall fall down before him, all Nations shall serve him.* The Potentates in the East and West Indies, and all the idolatrous and barbarous nations formerly described †, shall submit to him. Then shall our Redeemer go forth with his crown and his bow, conquering and to conquer ‖. *His enemies shall be clothed with shame, but upon himself shall his crown flourish ‡. The wilderness shall be a fruitful field**, the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose, the glory of Lebanon shall be given to it ; they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God—Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped ; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing ; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert ††.* When we in this part of the world are weary of the Gospel, strangers shall with joy receive it, and many shall come from the East and the West, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of God ‖ ‖. The dead bones shall then live and stand on their feet, an exceeding great army. This will make all that love our Lord Jesus rejoice, and a bright lustre of religion and piety shall fill the earth. Christianity is not calculated for one nation or country only, but by the great author thereof, is wisely adapted for all mankind. 'Tis the concern even of kings, princes, and the great ones in the earth, to advance our Redeemer's Kingdom ; this would make their government flourish, establish their kingdom, entail a blessing upon their posterity, make the present generation of the
righteous

* Psalm 110. 1. Psalm 72. 7—12.

† Above, Chap. VII.

‖ Revel. 6. 2.

‡ Psalm 132. 18.

** Isa. 32. 15.

†† Isa. Chap. 35.

‖ ‖ Matth. 8. 11.

righteous to pray for blessings to them from the throne of grace, and *the generation to come shall call them blessed*: yea, thus when their time shall be no more, they shall secure for themselves a crown of glory.

Fourthly, The conversion of the nations, and their subjection to the Kingdom of the *Messiah* our Saviour, is promised thro' the whole book of God, as a *special New-Testament Blessing*. The glorious *Jehovah* says to our Redeemer, *I will give thee as a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation unto the ends of the earth **. The church of the *Gentiles* that was long barren, *shall have more children* than the church of the *Jews*. *For thus saith the Lord, enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes, for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left, and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles †*. To our *Shiloh*, or promised *Messiah*, *shall the gathering of the people be ‖*. The *Heathen* are given to him for his inheritance, and the *uttermost parts of the earth* for his possession ‡. With many other promises of that kind, of which several are marked at the foot of the page **. Now, tho' many of these promises be already performed, in the conversion of the nations from the time of our Lord's ascending up into heaven, and pouring out of his spirit at the day of *Pentecost* unto the present time, as in the foregoing history; yet there is a fuller performance of them to be expected before the end of the world; for our Lord himself foretold, *This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come ††*. Tho' this was in part fulfilled by the propagation of the Gospel, by the *Apostles* and *Evang- elists* over the *Roman* empire, before the end of the *Jewish* state by the desolating wars of *Vespasian* and *Titus*; yet I see no reason why it may not be extended to

a

* Isaiah 49. 6.

† Isaiah 54. 1—4.

‖ Genesis 49. 10.

‡ Psalm 2. 8.

** See Isaiah 11. 10. and 2. 2, 3. Micah 4. 1, 2. Isaiah 19. 21. Isaiah 42. 6, 7. chap. 43. 5, 6. chap. 60. 3. chap. 62. 2. chap. 66. 12. Zechariah 2. 10, 11. Malachi 1. 11, &c. †† Matthew 24. 14.

a further propagation of the Gospel to the remote Heathens in *Asia, Africa and America*, before the end of time. The Apostle *Paul* tells us, *That blindness is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in* *. Intimating, that after the conversion of the *Jews*, or about that time, there shall be a more glorious and full conversion of the *Gentiles* than ever was before. After the fall of *Romish Babylon*, the Kingdoms of the world shall become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ †. There is a time coming, when our Lord shall be King over all the earth. In that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one ||. Since we are encouraged by these precious promises, to expect a more glorious day of the conversion of the nations, and of their subjection to our Redeemer, and the time I hope is near; ought not every *Christian* to pray, long and wait for that time, and contribute his best endeavours to promote so great a work. This would silence the clamour of parties, would confirm the truth of our holy Religion, by discovering the plenary accomplishment of Scripture-prophecies and promises; would stop the mouth of infidelity and atheism, chase wickedness and impiety out of the world, and make peace, holiness, and righteousness spring up and flourish as the flowers of the field.

Fifthly, This duty of converting the nations, of instructing the ignorant, reclaiming the wandering, and bringing home the strangers to be members of the mystical body of *Christ*, is in a special manner incumbent upon the Pastors of *Christ's* Church. We are obliged to propagate the saving knowledge of *Christ* among all men so far as we can, and as orderly called by the very words and main tenor of that commission from which we derive our office: *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature* ‡. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have*

* Romans 11. 25.

† Rev. 11. 15.

|| Zech. 14. 9.

‡ Mark 16. 15.

have commanded you ; and lo I am with you always even to the end of the world †. Endeavour to make all nations disciples to *Christ*, baptizing them, and instructing them to believe and obey the Gospel ; and to encourage you in this, I give you the promise of my presence and assistance with you, and your successors in office, in the discharge of this work to the end of the world. Ministers of the Gospel have the most noble examples to imitate, of our blessed Lord, of his holy Apostles, of many apostolic men in the primitive Church, and of many others in the subsequent ages, and even since the Reformation from *Popery*, whom we have mentioned in this history ; and we have the most excellent arguments to quicken our zeal, for *they that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever* ||. If our predecessors had not exerted themselves to recover these lands out of the snare of the Devil, we had been yet in the state of *Heathenism* ; let us do as much for the subsequent ages, as our predecessors have done for us. 'Tis true, none are to run unsent upon the holy ministry, far less upon so difficult a part of it ; but it may be the work of the gravest Convocations of the Clergy, of Presbyteries, Synods, or national Assemblies, regularly to send proper persons to labour in this work of *converting the nations*, to encourage them, and notice their success ; which would be of greater importance than most affairs that come under our consideration. I am sensible, that any thing I can offer is but the opinion of a private and unskill'd hand ; but such Synods have greater authority, can deliberate in what they propose, and see the same put in execution : and I wish they may do it to good purpose, and that the Lord may crown the whole with success.

Sixthly, Not only the Pastors of the Church, but also every Christian in his station, should act with zeal in this matter, to chase the devil out of those large territories he is yet possessed of in *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*, and to make those strangers subject to the

† Matthew 28. 19, 20.

|| Daniel 12. 3.

the Kingdom of Christ. The learned and inquisitive *Joseph Mede*, who writes many things singular and curious, speaking of the first *Gentile* inhabitants, and the late *Christian Plantations* in *America*, is of opinion, *tho' perhaps*, says he *, *I cannot prove it, that those countries were first inhabited since our Saviour and his Apostles time, there being no signs or footsteps found among them of any older habitations. The devil being impatient of the sound of the Gospel of Christ in every part of this old world, and foreseeing, that he was at length like to lose all here, he thought to provide himself a seed, over which he might reign securely ; and accordingly drew a colony out of some of those barbarous nations dwelling on the northern ocean, to whom the sound of Christ had not yet come, and promising them by some oracle, to shew them a country far better than their own, which he might soon do, pleasant and large, where never man yet inhabited ; he conducted them over these desert lands and islands, which are many in that sea, into America.*—— And here it is to be noted, that the story of the Mexican Kingdom, (which was not founded above 400 years before our people from Europe came thither) relates out of their own memorials and traditions, that their God *Vitziliputzli* led them, going in an ark before them.—— But see the hand of divine providence, when the offspring of these runnagates had now replenished that other world, and began to flourish in the Kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, the Lord sends his mastiffs the Spaniards to hunt them out and worry them ; which they did in so hideous a manner, as the like was scarce ever done since the sons of Noah came out of the Ark. What an affront is this to Satan, where he had thought to live securely, and to have his subjects for ever concealed ! Yet the Devil perhaps is less grieved for destroying his servants, than he would be to lose them, by bringing them to the saving knowledge of Christ. I doubt the Spaniards have thus spoiled him of very few. What then, if Christ our Lord will give him this second affront with better Christians ? which may be more grievous to him than the former.

* *Joseph Mede's Works* in 4to. Vol. II. pag. 549, & seq.

former. This will be a work glorifying to God, and to our blessed Saviour, to chase the Devil out of these large territories, where he thought to have reigned securely, and to bring these outcasts cheerfully to submit to the Kingdom of *Christ*, that at length they may reign with him in glory.

The great precepts and examples of our holy Religion should stir us up to zeal in this matter. The primitive Christians early discovered their affection to *Christ*, by bringing others to him. When the Apostle *Andrew* was called, he finds his brother *Simon* *, and saith to him, *We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ; and he brought him to Jesus.* When *Philip* was converted, he finds *Nathanael*, and said unto him, *We † have found him of whom Moses, the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Joseph.* And *Nathanael* said to him, *Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?* *Philip* said unto him, *Come and see.* The woman of *Samaria* no sooner found the *Messias*, but she runs and calls the whole city to be partakers of her happiness ‖. *Christ* bids *Peter*, *When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren ‡.* This would be a token of reviving, *when the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it; then many people shall go and say, Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths **.* God gives us grace, that we may be as dew from the Lord, and as the showers upon the grass ††, that we may water others. This is the way to obtain increase of grace to our own souls, for *the liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered again ‡‡.* And this will be had in gracious remembrance by God, as acceptable service, and plentifully rewarded ††. Shall the *Papish* Missionaries compass sea and

* John 1. 40—42.

‖ John 4. 28—30.

** Isaiah 2. 2, 3.

‖‖ Proverbs 11. 25.

† John 1. 45, 46.

‡ Luke 22. 32.

†† Micah 5. 7.

‡‡ Malachi 3. 16, 17.

and land to make profelytes, and we *Protestants* loiter, sit still, and do nothing? Shall sinners entice one another to serve the enemy of mankind to their eternal ruin, and shall not we be more zealous to bring perishing souls to *Christ*, that they may obtain eternal happiness thro' him? The very *Mahometans* run about the world to gain profelytes for their beastly prophet *Mahomet*, and shall the children of the kingdom only want this desire, this zeal, this endeavour? Impossible! If any such be, they are bastards, and not sons. Do we not see every citizen, every member of any company or society, how eagerly they desire, and how forward they are to advance the enlargement and good of the commonwealth or society whereof they are members? Who is nobly descended, but desires the good of his house and kindred? What good subject but wisheth the increase of his King's subjects, the amplifying his dominions, and the revenues of his crown? How can we be members of *Christ's* Kingdom, if we desire not the increase of his subjects? We pray to God daily, *Let thy Kingdom come*; let that which is our daily prayer be our daily endeavour, or we cannot in sincerity call *God our Father*, nor expect he will own us as his children. All things in nature desire the propagation of their kind; the fire is no sooner kindled, but it will presently turn all it lays hold upon into its own nature; 'tis as possible for the sun to want light, and the fire to be without heat, as for the fire of grace to be kindled in their hearts, who endeavour not to enflame others with the same. I shall also bespeak my reader in the words of the pious and learned *Danish* Missionaries, who have been frequently mention'd in this and in the former chapter. They say *,

“ *Christianity* softens the heart to tender inclinations;
 “ 'tis of a communicative and overflowing nature,
 “ whereas, wicked men are of most narrow and con-
 “ fined spirits, so contracted by the pinching particu-
 “ larities of earthly and created things, so imprisoned
 “ in a dark dungeon of sensuality and selfishness, so
 “ straitned

* Propagation of the Gospel in the *East*, Part II. Preface, pag. 6.

“ straitned thro’ their carnal designs and ends, that
 “ they cannot stretch themselves beyond the horizon
 “ of time and sense. Truly, a soul that’s made par-
 “ taker of this heavenly amplitude, will expose herself
 “ to all hazards and difficulties, to prevent the eter-
 “ nal ruin of others. If Religion makes those who
 “ are rooted in it lay down their lives for their bre-
 “ thren, then without doubt such must be strangers to
 “ it, who grudge at a little labour or expence, for
 “ those precious souls who are in the way to come
 “ over to the bosom of the Church. We see how
 “ eager those of the *Romish* party are to push on their
 “ designs up and down the heathen world, from the
 “ *East* to the *West*, and the extreme readiness of great
 “ numbers of their clergy, to expose themselves to
 “ all manner of perils by sea and land, for the propa-
 “ gation of the Christian Faith in the infidel world.
 “ And ’tis well known, that some of them have boasted,
 “ when they are maintaining theirs to be the *Catholic*
 “ *Church*, that their loss in *Europe* by what they call
 “ the *Northern Herefy*, has been more than made up
 “ to them by the accession of such vast numbers to
 “ their communion, as within these two last *Centuries*
 “ have been added to them from among the heathen
 “ nations. I know what the common evasion of
 “ *Protestants* in relation to the *Popish* Missionaries, is,
 “ viz. *That they do not act upon a good principle, that*
 “ *they have no other end in what they undertake, than*
 “ *to promote the interest of their party, which at last*
 “ *would prove an undermining, rather than advancing*
 “ *the Gospel of Christ.* But as on the one hand I do
 “ not design at all to justify the conduct of the *Romish*
 “ Missionaries, their method being generally too slight,
 “ and unbecoming the gravity of a Missionary of
 “ *Christ*; so on the other, I cannot see with what rea-
 “ son *Protestants* should act nothing, because they ob-
 “ serve others act irregularly. Certainly, if the *Roman*
 “ Missionaries act upon a selfish foundation, *Protestants*
 “ ought to act upon a more solid one; if they act upon
 “ a partial principle, *Protestants* ought to act on a
 “ principle

“ principle more universal, more favouring of the
 “ spirit of *Christ*, and more attended with universal
 “ love and benignity. If the method of *Roman Ca-*
 “ *tholics* seem too shallow, dead, and superficial to us,
 “ *Protestants* ought then to carry it higher, to inspire
 “ their converts with the power of Religion, to stir up
 “ the will to a ready compliance with the commands
 “ of God. If these acquiesce in a pompous tho’ dead
 “ performance of a ceremonious worship ; we ought
 “ then to preach up so much the more an inward and
 “ vital principle, sending forth good works, as so
 “ many free and unconstrained emanations. And in
 “ fine, do they venture life and limb, compass sea
 “ and land to make proselytes to their party, and all
 “ this by the influence of human authority, should not
 “ then *Protestants* under the gracious influence of God
 “ himself, carry things considerably beyond what these
 “ are able to do.”

To excite us to zeal in this matter, I shall also use
 the words of some sermons preached before the *Society*
 in *England*, for *propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.
 “ Shall I tell you, *says the Bishop of Sarum* *, what
 “ we have often heard as a national reflection? that
 “ none of the foreign Churches have been so faulty in
 “ this respect as we of this Church and Nation, while
 “ none had greater advantages in well established and
 “ populous colonies, and in the vast returns of ad-
 “ vantageous trade : let not our plantations have cause
 “ to accuse us, while they are hard at work for us,
 “ and while their products are so charged, that they
 “ have but a small part of the gain that’s made by
 “ them, so that they are too low to contribute this
 “ way ; yet those among us, whose dealings with them
 “ God has blessed with the hundred fold even in this
 “ world, are backward in assisting them in their spiri-
 “ tual concerns, when they are beginning to offer to-
 “ ward it themselves, even beyond their strength. Let
 “ those who have a true zeal for the honour of our
 “ Church, contribute to raise her glory, which has
 “ been

* *Bishop of Sarum’s Sermon in the Year 1703.*

“ been hitherto too little advanced this way, while
 “ those who divide from us in *New-England*, seem to
 “ have provoked us to jealousy on this account. Let
 “ no objections that may be made against the thing,
 “ as if the design were hopeless, and must be unsuc-
 “ cessful, shut up any man’s hand or heart. Things of
 “ this nature must go on slowly, and meet with great
 “ obstructions and many difficulties, chiefly at first ;
 “ but where the work is acceptable to God, a more
 “ than ordinary blessing may be well looked for, if
 “ we be not wanting on our part.

Another reverend prelate before the same honoura-
 ble Society discourses thus * : “ If it be considered how
 “ vast a tract of ground we have on the continent, and
 “ how many islands we possess of lesser note ; that
 “ some of them have no ministers at all, that none of
 “ them have so many as their occasions call for ; it
 “ would fright one to think how much is to be done,
 “ and how little there is to do it withal.—— But
 “ God, whose glory is so nearly concerned, will not
 “ suffer it to fail for want of supplies. He will dispose
 “ the good and generous to turn a part of their cha-
 “ rity into this Channel. He will inspire us with a
 “ tender regard to the spiritual necessities of these poor
 “ brethren, by whose daily labours, the flourishing
 “ condition of this poor kingdom is in so great a mea-
 “ sure supported. To bring all nations under the do-
 “ minion of Christ, in this new discovered world, as
 “ well as that which formerly engrossed the name, is
 “ glorious employment for heroic Christians ; ’tis
 “ a duty incumbent upon them, and ’tis that which
 “ God in his good time will certainly bring to pass.”

Another prelate discourses thus † : “ How shall
 “ they hear without a preacher ? How shall they
 “ preach except they be sent ? And how shall they
 “ be sent, except they be supplied with what is neces-
 “ sary for their subsistence and encouragement ? And
 “ how

* Bishop of *Litchfield*’s Sermon, in the Year 1704.

† Bishop of *Chichester*’s Sermon, in 1705.

“ how can our charity be better employed, than to
 “ have the *Gentiles* made obedient in word and deed?
 “ We should add endeavours to our prayers, and do
 “ what in us lies, for accomplishing so glorious an
 “ end. Time was, when the inhabitants of this island
 “ were as barbarous as the *Indians* are now. *Gentiles*
 “ carried away unto dumb idols, even as they were
 “ led. And we might have so continued to this day,
 “ had it not been for the special favour of God, and
 “ the industry of these apostolical persons; as *St. Paul*,
 “ who travelled from *Jerusalem*, and round to *Illyri-*
 “ *cum*, to *Spain*, and even to the *British Isles*, fully
 “ preaching the Gospel of Christ. And should not we
 “ be moved with the like generous compassion, and
 “ hearken to those, who with the *Macedonian* spirit call
 “ to us, *Come over to the Indies and help us?* Shall not
 “ we do what in us lies, by sending or being sent
 “ among them? by serving or providing for them that
 “ enter upon and offer themselves to this service? that
 “ the eyes of such poor wretches may be opened, and
 “ they turned from darkness unto light, and from the
 “ power of Satan unto God.”

Let us further consider the amazing conduct of di-
 vine providence, in propagating and preserving the
 holy Christian Religion in all ages, not by might, nor
 by force of arms, but by the efficacy of the Gospel,
 accompanied by the spirit of God. This demonstrates
 our Religion to be divine, and confirms the certainty
 and truth thereof; so that the whole history of its pro-
 pagation, from first to last, deduced in the foregoing
 essay, is one continued argument of the truth of Chri-
 stianity, with which we began, and now conclude this
 work. Who, but the glorious God who made the
 world out of nothing, could have propagated the
 doctrine revealed by his own son, and confirmed by
 his death and sufferings, all the world over, in spite of
 all the allurements of flesh and blood, and all the
 powers of hell and earth; and that when other super-
 stitions invented by men dwindled into nothing? Who,
 but this God, could have so display'd the beauty of the
 Gospel-

Gospel-Church over all *Europe, Asia, Africa and America*? And the longer the beauty of this Church shines, the more glorious will it appear; *at the evening it shall be light.* Now, when we have so many great examples of eminent men in Church and State set before us, who have been active to propagate our Religion in every Century, should not we follow the same? that the conquests of our Redeemer may be extended *from the rising of the sun, to the going down of the same; that his name may be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense may be offered to his name, and a pure offering. That his name may be remembered in all generations; that all the people may praise him, and the whole earth may be filled with his glory.*

And now to conclude, how momentous arguments have we to stir us up to act with life and vigour in this matter! All the mighty powers of eternal loving kindness, that love of God which sent his own son into the world, to save and enlighten our Souls with these heavenly doctrines, all the wonders of mercy, and the triumphs of a dying Redeemer's grace, with an united force, flow into our hearts, and conspire to warm our affections with a heavenly flame, in the cause of our Saviour. The native beauty and simplicity of Gospel-truths, surrounded with all the glories of our Saviour's death and love, attended with all the highest powers of duty, gratitude and generosity, and testified by the loudest applauses of heavenly hosts, can never miss to furnish an endless train, and an inexhaustible force of motives. Can there be a breast in which they'll fail to make an impression? Behold our exalted Lord, looking down from his throne to encourage and enliven us; he is expecting what we will do for his honour, and how our bowels are moved within us; he points out his blood and wounds, which saved us from everlasting death, the cross he endured, and the shame he despised, that he might make us happy; the scorn of the multitude, the rage and hatred of the learned, the madness and blindness of the rulers of this world, yea, the

hellish efforts of the infernal host, which could never shake his resolution, nor make him desert our cause: he represents to our view the light and joy of a reconciled God, and the eternal pleasures of heaven; and he makes bare his glorious arm, which pulled us out of hell, and drave back the devouring flames. He looks, after such an amazing and delightful prospect, what returns we will make to him. Ought we not to be influenced by what our Saviour tells us? *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy Angels. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven?*

Can we ever act as we are obliged, to promote the glory of our blessed Lord and Redeemer, *who loved us and washed us with his own blood*, who purchased our Salvation with his own death and sufferings? Can any momentary hardships we can endure for propagating his name over the world, be compared with what he did and suffered for us? He supports, encourages, and sympathizes with us under all our labour and toil; he sweetens our way, and prepares for us a crown of glory. Should not zeal for the glory of our God, desire for the salvation of precious and immortal souls, perishing under darkness and infidelity, and a pious concern for our Saviour's Kingdom, animate us with a holy warmth in this matter? *That there may be one fold and one shepherd; that God, even our God, may bless us, and all the ends of the earth may fear him.* Amen.

F I N I S.

A N

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